HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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HHH: Fitting Close to Chicago Fiasco

The convulsion in Chicago last week, referred to by some as the Democratic National Convention, wasn't all barbed wire, tear gas and massive violence. There was plenty of this, of course, as *Human Events* observers can attest (see page 4), and reporters, demonstrators, police and delegates all got a whiff of the oppressive atmosphere in the Windy City. But the convention also had its lighter side, especially for those who were not personally involved.

There was the engaging spectacle, from a Republican point of view, of Democrats cursing and booing each other, stomping out of the convention hall and lacerating opponents with horrendous charges. There was Mayor Richard J. Daley, the big, burly, jowly Chicago boss who ran the city—and much of the convention—with an iron hand, packing the Amphitheatre galleries with people wearing "We Love Mayor Daley" signs and hoarsely shouting obscenities at the Democratic "guests."

Daley's cops acted brutally at times, but tears of laughter were rolling down the faces of many TV viewers at home when the chairman of the New Hampshire delegation mournfully told how he had been thrown into the "slammer" after an unexpected encounter with a policeman.

The nomination of Georgia Negro Julian Bond, 28, for vice president may have been the civil rights thing to do, but Bond, unfortunately for his backers, withdrew his name from consideration when he realized he was seven years younger than the Constitution permits a vice president to be.

Not the least of the amusing moments occurred when Humphrey won the nomination for President. When Mrs. Humphrey's face flashed on the TV screen in his hotel room, HHH excitedly remarked: "Look how pretty she looks! I'm going to give her a big kiss!" The irrepressible spokesman for the "Politics of Joy" then rushed over to the TV set and kissed the screen, repeating it a second time for photographers.

Actually, however, the Chicago fiasco was, on the whole, a depressing piece of business. Democrat Daley proved he couldn't run his city; and the liberals in the Democratic party proved they couldn't run a convention. It will be utterly surprising, after what happened last week, if the people allow these politicians to continue running the country.

NEWSPAPER

The really sad fact is that the Democrats still desperately want to do so, and, judging from the platform and the candidates, want to run it in much the same way that LBJ has—right into the ground.

Despite convention talk about "fresh, new ideas," the platform is full of the tired, old liberal Democratic prescriptions for sound economic health: more federal projects and more federal spending. One can read that into virtually every paragraph referring to both domestic and foreign programs.

The federal government will rebuild our cities, establish new anti-poverty programs and continue to lavish foreign aid on friend and foe alike. The Democrats will build dams for Ho Chi Minh—if the war stops—and would channel additional funds into the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), which, incidentally, has been funnelling U.S. aid into Communist Poland and Red Cuba.

The Democrats would mobilize the nation's resources so more federal money could be directed toward subsidizing the arts and the humanities and the propping up of Broadway plays that have not made the grade with the public. The platform would implement the massive spending programs of the Kerner Commission report, and so on ad infinitum.

Yet besides advocating more federal spending on nearly everything under the sun, the platform, amazingly enough, also speaks temptingly of cutting taxes, maintaining the "lowest possible" interest rates and assuring an "adequate" supply of credit for everybody.

All this, of course, in spite of the obvious fact that the United States has come to the brink of financial disaster by pursuing exactly this sort of policy.

The platform, needless to say, would also appease the labor barons who put Humphrey over on the first ballot and who appear to have a mortgage on the Democratic party. Even while Mayor Daley's Chicago was beset with telephone, bus and cab strikes during the Democratic convention, a plank endorsed by the delegates promised to reward organized labor with additional powers.

The labor plank calls for "repeal of the provision permitting states to enact compulsory open shop laws"; i.e., the Democrats plan to eliminate the famous Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act which permits states to pass laws forbidding a person to pay tribute to a union before he can hold a job.

The Democratic plank also plans "removal" of so-called "unreasonable restrictions upon the right of peaceful picketing, including situs picketing." Translated, this means permitting one union to close down an entire construction project even though other unions working on the same project have absolutely no beef with the employer.

This same plank, further, indicates the Democrats may well back the right of unions to picket vital military installations. In addition to all this, the platform calls for ways and means to increase unionization of workers not now covered.

Interpreters of the platform say the plank would open the way for Humphrey, if he were elected President, to try to force compulsory unionism on federal employes. The Johnson Administration came close to accomplishing that project this year, until the National Right-to-Work organization alerted the Congress and the public to the danger. But the Democratic platform indicates a Humphrey Administration would continue the drive for forced unionization of federal workers.

Vice President Humphrey whoops for joy as he watches the Pennsylvania delegation put him over the top to win the Democratic nomination. The question: Will HHH be as happy this November?

There is little doubt, moreover, that Hubert Humphrey, the Democratic nominee (as well as his teammate Sen. Edmund S. Muskie) is desirous of carrying out the goals of the platform. The platform, in fact, reeks with Humphreyitis. Ever since he entered into politics 35 years ago, Humphrey has fervently believed that the remedies for the worlds' ills lie in giving the union bosses whatever they demand and permitting the federal government to intrude massively into the private affairs of men.

As mayor of Minneapolis Humphrey turned the town into an arm of organized labor. The chief of police had to be "cleared" by labor; so did the civil service commission. When the Northwestern Bell Telephone Co. strike erupted in 1947 in Minnesota, Mayor Humphrey was quoted by the Minneapolis papers as saying: "I did not enforce the law against mass picketing . . . because that was part of my plan to force the telephone company to come to grips with true collective bargaining."

During his years in the Senate, Humphrey voted 100 per cent of the time "right" according to COPE, the political arm of the AFL-CIO. And he has continued to keep in the good graces of organized labor as vice president.

He has remained, too, an avid promoter of plans to spend the taxpayers' dollars. As a founder and former chairman of the left-wing Americans for Democratic Action, he has repeatedly called for the blowing of billions of dollars on a plethora of federal projects. In recent months, as the balance of payments and national deficit have soared, Humphrey found himself calling for a "Marshall plan" for the cities and a doubling or tripling of foreign aid to Africa.

Nothing, it would seem, can temper his insatiable craving for additional governmental programs. As Humphrey himself has said about spending: "I will stick with Jolly Santa. Anytime anyone wants to run on that platform, they can count me in."

The bankruptcy of the liberal Democratic party has been conclusively revealed in its selection of Hubert H. Humphrey as its candidate for President.

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Capital Briefs

● The Hubert Humphrey-Edmund S. Muskie ticket is **one of the most liberal** ever fielded by the Democratic party. Humphrey's over-all voting record, according to Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA), is only 1 per cent conservative; Maine's Muskie, a senator since 1959, has collected a lowly 5 per cent on the ACA cumulative index. Even the Kennedy-Johnson ticket in 1960 was more conservative, with JFK receiving an 11 per cent ACA rating, and LBJ a 10 per cent mark.

● Hubert Humphrey, who has been a captive of the unions ever since he became mayor of Minneapolis in 1945, owes much of his Chicago victory to the **labor bosses**. AFL-CIO chieftain George Meany, UAW head Walter Reuther, Steelworkers' President I. W. Abel and many other union bigwigs marshalled support for HHH among more than 200 labor union delegates at the Democratic convention. They also put the screws on candidates who depend on labor union support.

● The Democratic platform, hammered out by pro-Humphrey people, is a promise to vastly increase the powers of organized labor. Among two of its goals: easing the so-called "restrictions" on **"peaceful picketing"** and forbidding the states to ban **compulsory unionism**.

● The Committee on Political Education (COPE)—the AFL-CIO's political arm—has already made it plain they will **support Humphrey over Nixon.** Not only did COPE actively back Hubert for the presidential nomination, but it has turned out a four-page newsletter denouncing both Richard Nixon and the GOP platform for their supposedly anti-union stand.

● While the Democratic platform came out against a unilateral cessation of the bombing of North Viet Nam, a **bomb pause** before November may be in the offing. Some of the Chicago delegates were informed that W. Averell Harriman—America's chief man in Paris—is absolutely "aching" for an end to the bombing of the north.

● Here's one reason, however, the delegates refused to endorse the McCarthy-McGovern-Kennedy plank for an unconditional halt to the bombing of North Viet Nam: Gen. **Creighton Abrams**, U.S. military commander in South Viet Nam, told the White House that the cessation of the bombing in the north would result in "a five-fold increase in American casualties."

● Gov. **John Connally**, who delivered 100½ of the 104 Texas delegates to Humphrey, has frankly confessed that he believes the Lone Star State will probably go for Richard Nixon in November. Connally also thinks Humphrey will find it very hard to carry Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and even states north of the Mason-Dixon line.

● Even before he lost his quixotic bid for the Democratic nomination, Sen. **Eugene McCarthy** (D.-Minn.) told reporters that the "Republicans are going to win" in November.

● Mayor **John Lindsay** of New York, who said he would support Republican candidate Richard Nixon, announced last week that he liked the big-spending Democratic plank on the cities much better than the Republican one.

● Control of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago was so stringent that security guards would not permit delegates to bring **newspapers onto the convention floor**. Party bosses felt that it would look undignified for delegates to be reading papers while speeches were being made.

● The California delegation to the Democratic convention, angered by Chicago Mayor Daley's strict management of the gathering, passed a resolution charging that the convention had been conducted in a **"high-handed and oppressive manner."** The delegates were unhappy over the harsh security precautions and the harassment of newsmen on the convention floor.

● Evangelist **Billy Graham** was among the millions shocked by the debacle of the Democratic convention. "The unreality of Chicago was beyond anything I have ever seen before," he stated. "I never thought a President would have to be elected under these circumstances."

● The liberal Republican **Ripon Society** recently issued a position paper in which it said the U.S. response toward the Soviet Union's invasion of Czechoslovakia should be the recognition of Red China. It doesn't make sense, but that's what the Riponers said.

● While the LBJ-HHH Administration has refused to retaliate against the Soviets for their invasion of Czechoslovakia, Sen. **Everett Dirksen**, the GOP's minority leader, says he would direct a trade embargo against all Communist countries that joined together to subdue the Dubcek regime.

● Frustrated in his bid for the Democratic presidential nomination, Georgia Gov. **Lester Maddox** withdrew his name from consideration before the convention balloting began and denounced the Democrats as the party of "looting, burning, killing and draft card burning."

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Labor Nominates a Captive

Behind the scenes at Chicago, the bosses of Big Labor played an enormously influential role in putting Humphrey over the top on the first ballot. They helped to nix the rising boomlet for Ted Kennedy—whom they believe is too young and too rash—and Eugene McCarthy, whom they distrust. They were for Hubert Humphrey, for union labor knows that Humphrey has slavishly followed their direction ever since he entered politics in Minnesota back in the 1940s.

HUMPHREY

Throughout the nights before the nomination, flying squads of powerful union leaders rounded up votes for Hubert. Headquartered at the Drake Hotel, AFL-CIO chieftains staged a well-organized operation that escaped the ever-present television cameras.

AFL-CIO chieftain George Meany, who had started the ball rolling for Humphrey when LBJ bowed out on March 31, launched the "Operation Humphrey" drive. He assigned Alexander E. Barkan, head of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE), to direct the convention maneuvering. Meany's special assistant, Lane Kirkland, joined Barkan in an office in the Amphitheater balcony to coordinate the labor effort.

While Meany remained ensconced at Drake Hotel headquarters, Barkan and Kirkland kept contact with nearly a score of floor operatives through walkie-talkie radios and special telephones. They hooked into Walter Reuther's communications center, a 25th floor Hotel Sheraton suite, and teamed up with the Teamsters' operation called DRIVE.

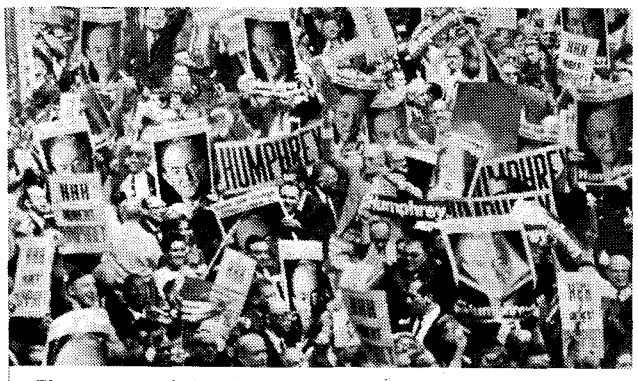
The final drive to put Humphrey over began August 26 in the Drake ballroom. There, George Meany had gathered with him the biggest single bloc of delegates to the Democratic convention, 304 headline-making chiefs from 43 states.

As hundreds whistled and cheered, reported labor columnist Victor Riesel, George Meany let them have it. The new Nixon, he thundered, is a "black cloud" which must be "dispelled. . . .

"If you don't know Nixon and what he represents [to us], then you don't belong in the labor movement. You ought to resign."

According to Riesel's account, Meany added: "We have more at stake than any other segment of society. We are the largest organization in the nation. But we can't do our job unless we have someone in the White House who understands [us] and someone who sympathizes. That man [Hubert Humphrey] was here today."

Meany, said Riesel, spoke a few minutes after the



The success of the Humphrey nomination campaign was due in large part to the efforts of Big Labor.

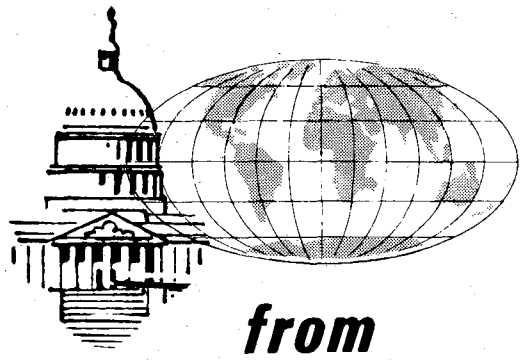
vice president had left the dais amid a whooping, standing ovation, the noise of which was out-decibeled only when Humphrey had told the union delegates:

"I depended on you and you never let me down. You depended on me and I never let you down. I now depend on you [again] and don't let me down."

They didn't. These delegates selected from union ranks went onto the floor and into the hotels and out among the cocktail parties to gather additional support for Hubert. Why did the delegates listen? Says Riesel: "They know what this nation has little heeded. They know that the labor movement is a massive political party in all but name. They know what Meany meant when he said it had been 'frigid' in Miami. They know that in the Ohio primaries labor had defeated Frank Lausche, one of the nation's greatest vote getters, by contacting every one of the state's 800,000 unionists. Labor's telephone squads did better than one call a minute to union voters. The delegates know that more than money is involved. They know that union publications in 33 key states reach 20 million unionists (and their families) virtually every week."

Thus Hubert Humphrey was put over on the first ballot. And he remains the captive of union labor that he has always been.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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Inside Washington

Behind the Viet Nam Plank

Democratic presidential nominee Hubert Humphrey —according to so-far undenied reports—would have preferred a Viet Nam plank far more in line with the doves than the one approved by the Chicago convention. But LBJ, working through his emissary at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, managed to swing both Humphrey and the platform committee into line.

BOGGS

In a secretive operation, the Humphrey camp (represented by ADAer David Ginsburg), Rep. Hale Boggs (D.-La.), chairman of the Platform Committee, and some committee staffers joined forces to whip up a plank to accommodate some of the demands of the "peace" forces.

"The Humphrey draft," reported the New York *Times*' John Finney, "was adopted as the 'working paper' for the discussions." This formula was a hodgepodge of ideas drawn from the entire spectrum of Democratic views.

The Humphrey draft modified Administration policy in several places, but departed most sharply on the question of the bombing of North Viet Nam. The efforts at conciliation had gone so far, said Finney, "that Mr. Ginsburg had private discussions with Theodore C. Sorensen, a White House aide in the Kennedy Administration who was playing an independent hand in the dove camp."

As Humphrey continued to veer rapidly toward a dovish stance, the President, who had played a "hands-off" role in the platform discussions, decided he had to intervene.

Platform Chairman Hale Boggs, Permanent Convention Chairman Carl Albert and Humphrey himself were summoned to Washington for a White House briefing of congressional leaders.

While information was dispensed on the Czech crisis, the President had also arranged for members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to acquaint these Democratic leaders with the facts about an unconditional bombing pause. Though there are varying versions of what went on, Gen. Earle C. Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and Gen. William Westmoreland, Army Chief of Staff, were reported to have said that a bombing halt would endanger the lives of American troops. The gathering was also supposed to have been told that Gen. Creighton Abrams, the U.S. commander in Viet Nam, had said that a bombing cessation would increase U.S. casualties at least fivefold.

Implicit in all of this was the threat that LBJ would repudiate the Viet Nam plank unless the platform committee conformed to his wishes.

Meanwhile, the President had dispatched Charles S. Murphy, a White House aide, to Chicago to oversee the writing of the platform. Murphy set up quarters in suite 1221-A in the Conrad Hilton Hotel. By late Sunday—August 25—Murphy, with the cooperation of Boggs, had succeeded in whittling away most of the "soft" Humphrey planks.

The original Humphrey proposal, for example, had called for a bombing halt of North Viet Nam, with a provision that such a step should "take into account" the risk to American troops. But the final draft said the northern bombing should be halted only "when this action would not endanger the lives of our troops in the field." This "when" clause was considered the Murphy insertion. In addition, other changes, both in substance and in wording, were made that at least tempered the "pro-peace" tone in the original Humphrey draft. Thus, the Humphrey plank on the troop withdrawal question had proposed that the U.S. "negotiate with Hanoi and its allies" a withdrawal of all foreign forces from South Viet Nam. The phrase "its allies" was struck on the ground it implied negotiations with the National Liberation Front.

On the subject of the postwar government, the Humphrey draft had proposed that a "representative electoral commission" be established to arrange for elections of a Saigon regime following the war. This was intended to meet the dove argument that the present Saigon government could not be expected to permit fair elections open to supporters of the NLF.

In the reworked draft, reported Finney, the commission idea was dropped in favor of a simple statement, again conforming to Administration policy, that the composition of a postwar government "should be determined by fair and safeguarded elections, open to all major political factions and parties prepared to accept peaceful political processes."

Thus Humphrey would appear to be far more willing to make concessions to the Communists on the issue of Viet Nam than could be gathered from the final draft of the war plank.

The Phillips Candidacy

The liberal newspapers gushed over the fact that the Rev. Channing E. Phillips, the 40-year-old Congregational minister from Washington, D.C., became the first black man ever to be nominated President by either of the major parties. The New York *Times* handed the good minister, who is also the District's Democratic national committeeman, a half-page spread of glorified prose.

But the Rev. Phillips is not the hero to Washingtonians that he may be to outsiders because of an explosive incident that occurred this summer. In early July two white policemen, prompted by the urgent requests of a black man, attempted to arrest a Negro robbery suspect. A struggle then ensued between the policemen and the suspect and two members of his family who came to aid him. During the encounter both police officers were shot, one fatally, after their own service revolvers had been snatched in the murderous brawl. All three persons involved in the incident with the policemen were charged with homicide.

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Following this amazing affair, the Black United Front, a creature of Stokely Carmichael and to which Mr. Phillips belongs, passed an incredible resolution calling the slaying of the policeman "justifiable homicide."

Though no evidence of any kind had been produced to justify this "verdict," the resolution, passed unanimously by 150 members of the BUF, read in part:

"Be it resolved that:

"The methods of self-defense by the family charged with the alleged slaying of the honky cop is justifiable

The Rev. Channing Phillips received more than 67 votes at the convention.

homicide, in the same sense that police are allowed to kill black people and call it justifiable homicide."

The Rev. Channing Phillips not only approved the statement, but acknowledged having framed most of it himself. Phillips, further, charged that the police were a "colonial" force in the black community. His only regret was that someone had supposedly substituted the word "honky" for "white" in the final mimeographed statement. Such is the character of the man who won over 67 convention votes for the Democratic Presidential nomination in Chicago.

'Prague West' Under Siege

Newspapers throughout the world have headlined the "brutality" of Chicago police in breaking up anti-war demonstrations. Virtually unreported is the fact the anti-war protests were deliberately designed by hard-core radicals who had as their goal violence and disruption.

Plans to "take over" Chicago were first mapped last February in a secret Chicago meeting called by Ronnie Davis, a leader of the National Mobilization Committee (NMC), and Carlos Russell, fiery "Black Power" leader from New York.

Among those present were Earl Durham and Donald Hammerquist, both of whom have been identified by federal authorities as members of the Communist party. Hammerquist told the confab:

"What we must do is make concrete demands on the convention which it cannot respond to. Our confrontation must be political in the sense of winning people away from the Democratic party."

The prospects for bloodshed were candidly discussed by Jack Spiegel, executive officer of the Chicago Peace Council. "We can't call thousands of people to Chicago and then disassociate ourselves from violence. Disruption and violence will occur. It's going to happen and we'll have to deal with that fact."

In the following months, anti-convention plans were directed by Tom Hayden, a Hanoi visitor and self-proclaimed revolutionary; Jerry Rubin, a graduate of the Berkeley disorders who heads the radical Youth International party; and David Dellinger, a self-styled "non-Soviet Communist" who has made unauthorized trips behind the Bamboo Curtain.

NMC leaders repeatedly encouraged their followers to "do your thing"—violent or non-violent. Yippies, who engaged in tossing stink-bombs into hotels, had classes on how to disable police by kicking them in the groin. Some demonstrators triggered a riot by hauling down the American flag. (Marxist Prof. Staughton Lynd, incidentally, was arrested in one of the melees.) Troops and police were also pelted with bricks, jagged bottles, even human excrement.

According to police one NMC leader, Prof. Sidney Peck of Case Western Reserve University, approached Deputy Police Supt. James M. Rochford during one demonstration, screamed, "This is all your fault!" and slugged Rochford in the face.

Rochford, who directed the police operations in Grant Park, said that no order was given officers to use their night sticks other than in a horizontal position for pushing. But when rioters sprayed his men with lye and water, bombarded them with bricks and taunted them as "Fascist pigs," said Rochford, "What could they do?"

Rochford added, "My men took quite a beating from this mad, wild crowd. We tried to handle them in a peaceful way but they would not let us."

Most observers agreed that individual policemen occasionally overreacted against the demonstrators. But the provocations and the super-charged atmosphere of violence created by the demonstrators triggered the overreaction. Moreover, the volatile situation was fueled with the knowledge that a possible sniper had been caught in the Amphitheater and that a Grand Jury was investigating a plot to kill Democratic party leaders.

As Mayor Daley noted:

"The intention of these terrorists was openly displayed. They repeatedly stated that they came to Chicago to disrupt the national political convention and to paralyze our city. They came here equipped with caustics, with helmets, and with their own brigade of medics. They had maps locating

Chicago police break up a mob of protesters during the wild melees that rocked the Windy City during the Democratic convention.

the hotels and the routes of buses for the guidance of terrorists from out of town."

Protest leaders were cheered by the violence. Crowed Tom Hayden: "What we have gained here is the bringing into fruition of a vanguard of people who are experienced in fighting for their survival under military conditions. It's an invaluable experience and it will have consequences in this country far beyond this week."

Hayden said the same strategy of "overheating this country's military machinery" will continue through the campaign. "Wherever Humphrey and Nixon go, the threat of protests will assure that troops will be guarding them. This isn't a Chicago policy—but a national policy—and the Left will be there to expose it."

Added Jerry Rubin: "What police here have developed is a new force of white street revolutionaries—kids who are willing to die to change things. They are ready for anything. This fall the college campuses—even the high schools—will feel the impact of Chicago."

Daley 'Manages the News'

If Chicago's Mayor Daley got the impression last week that representatives of the nation's communications media were not being overly kind to him and his beloved city, he should hardly have been surprised. Almost from the moment arrangements for the Democratic convention began, the press—particularly the television networks—had been harassed and frustrated by the selfsame Mayor Daley.

The trouble began when the prolonged strike by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers against the Illinois Bell Telephone Co. prevented installation of the special communications lines required by television anywhere outside the International Amphitheatre, the convention's home. Many TV officials, fully aware of the mutual admiration society between Daley and Chicago's politically powerful organized labor forces, believed the mayor could have persuaded the strikers to install these lines.

But the last thing Daley wanted was live television coverage of political disputes or protest demonstrations in downtown Chicago. This was to be *his* convention, and the mayor did not want to be embarrassed by such occurrences, no matter what the Constitution says about freedom of the press.

The next press curb was a decision by the Chicago police that, for "security" reasons, no television cameras were to be permitted to shoot from the windows or roofs of downtown hotels, or from the sidewalk in front of those hotels. Additionally, no cameras were allowed on the roof of the Amphitheatre.

The final blow to any adequate TV coverage of events outside the convention hall was a police ruling that the networks would not be permitted to park their video-tape and camera trucks on streets near the downtown hotels. This meant video-tape film of outside events had to be sped by motorcycle to far-away television stations for processing and much-delayed viewing.

This parking ban, CBS President Richard S. Salant said at the time, formed "a pattern well beyond simple labor disputes, logistics and security problems." There was still more to come which tended to confirm Salant's view.

The day before the convention was to open, Democratic officials (who took most of their cues from Mayor Daley) decided to restrict each television network to only two floor reporters. Convention organizers, of course, had known of the networks' plans to use more reporters for months. This move, said CBS' Walter Cronkite, was tantamount to either "censorship" or "news management," take your pick. (The Democrats later dropped their restriction.)

When the convention officially opened things got rougher. On two successive evenings CBS had a floor reporter flattened. Both Dan Rather and Mike Wallace found themselves flat on the floor when struck by an unseen assailant during interviews in the crowded aisles of the Amphitheatre. Other reporters were continually jostled and shadowed by suspicious non-delegates on the floor who were identified as labor goons imported by Mayor Daley to outshout and harass dissident Democratic delegates. "I can't work with these gumshoes hanging over my shoulder," said NBC floor reporter Sander Vanocur of a burly gentleman who had been eavesdropping on his every conversation.

On Wednesday and Thursday evenings Daley's convention-packing went a step further, as busloads of Chicago patronage workers were hustled into the Amphitheatre by a side door to take up seats in the galleries, from which the general public had been officially excluded. Daley's workers, none of whom had proper credentials or were checked for credentials, took seats reserved for radio-television personnel; when a reporter asked one which news media he represented, he whispered, "Fifth Ward, Fifth Ward." As a result, bonafide press representatives were not allowed into the galleries ("no seats left," they were told by Chicago police) and the bogus conventioneers whooped it up for Hubert Humphrey and Boss Daley.

The harassment reached its peak during the downtown Chicago clashes between police and protest demonstrators—the very sort of incidents Daley had tried to prevent from being covered by the press. While justification can be made for much of the police action against the violence-prone leftist demonstrators, almost none can be made for the police beating of media personnel.

Over 30 reporters, photographers and TV newsmen were attacked even though the victimized press representatives had visible credentials and attempted to identify themselves to police as press. Moreover, a number of photographers were ordered to expose film taken of the demonstrations and other media men were prevented by police from getting near the action.

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POLITICS '68

NIXON's N.Y. DILEMMA

The ever-popular New York liberal Republican trio of **Rockefeller, Javits** and **Lindsay** is again auditioning for the role of spoiler. Although all three have supposedly pledged to support Richard Nixon in the fall presidential campaign, they are currently trying to prevent Nixon from receiving a decided boost from the New York Conservative party, a move that could cost Nixon 43 crucial electoral votes in November.

The dispute involves New York's powerful Conservative party, which in 1966 wrested the third line (Row C) on the ballot from the much-older Liberal party by garnering more than 500,000 votes for its gubernatorial candidate. This year the Conservative party is endorsing the **Nixon-Agnew ticket** and wishes to run a joint slate of electors with the state GOP. Nixon is reportedly agreeable to this suggestion, but has left it up to the 300-man New York Republican State Committee to make the final decision.

Enter the Rockefeller-Javits-Lindsay trio. While they continue to court **Liberal party backing** (indeed, Javits is running with Liberal support this year as Lindsay did in 1965), they are determined to block a Nixon alliance with the Conservative party.

Conservative Party Chairman Daniel Mahoney mentioned this **double standard** when he wrote the 300 members of the Republican State Central Committee asking them to approve a joint

ROCKEFELLER

JAVITS

election slate for Nixon-Agnew at the committee's September 4 meeting.

Regarding Javits' opposition, Mahoney charged, "It is his position that he may accept, without a murmur of public protest from any member of your committee, Liberal endorsement for his Senate race, but Nixon-Agnew must be barred from having Conservative party endorsement." Mahoney also observed that this was almost un-Republican, since the Conservative party has endorsed 98 GOP candidates in this campaign, while the Liberals have backed but 10.

At week's end it looked as if the Lindsay-Javits-Rockefeller crowd had put enough pressure on the **state committeemen** to block majority approval of the joint slate. The Conservative party, however, planned another mailing to the 300 GOP committeemen and if top-level Nixon supporters put on some pressure of their own, the joint electoral slate might still squeak by.

If it fails, the Conservative party may be forced to run an **independent slate** of electors for Nixon-Agnew. The votes for these electors could not be added to the votes for Nixon on the Republican ticket. Thus, Nixon may be deprived of the Conservative party vote for him because of the liberal "spoilers."

GRUENING DEFEATED

Democratic voters in Alaska last week demonstrated they did not feel the Senate should become an old-age home for Viet Nam doves. This was shown as 81-year-old incumbent Sen. **Ernest Gruening**, one of the first Senate members to speak out against the war, was defeated in his primary bid for renonomination.

GRUENING

Gruening's vanquisher was **Mike Gravel**, young (38) former speaker of the state house of representatives. Gravel's successful campaign was pitched more on the issue of youth vs. age than against the incumbent's anti-war record, which has won Gruening high praise from domestic and foreign leftists.

This failure to renounce Gruening's leftist war position, together with a growing Republican tide in the nation's coldest state, could result in **Alaska's first GOP senator** since it was granted statehood in 1958. In 1966 Republicans captured both the governorship and the state's lone at-large seat in the House of Representatives for the first time.

The GOP senatorial nominee will be **Elmer Rasmuson**, the popular former mayor of Anchorage, Alaska's largest city.

GOP ADDS ONE IN TEXAS

The Republican contingent in the House was quietly enlarged by one last week as the GOP won a special contest in Dallas, Tex., where businessman **Jim Collins** was easily elected to fulfill the unexpired term of the late Rep. Joe Pool. Democrat Pool, a powerful member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, died of a heart attack in mid-July.

Collins, who lost to Pool in 1966, defeated the late congressman's widow by a better than 3-to-2 margin to become the third Texas Republican in the House. As of now, conservative Collins is regarded as a safe bet to retain his seat in November.

The key to Collins' victory—as it will be in his fall campaign—was an excellent organization built up in his district since 1966. Also, Collins is expected to continue campaigning on the issues which were successful for him this time out—support of the Viet Nam war effort, opposition to gun control and emphasis on law and order.

How Democrats Voted on Candidates, War

STATE	CONV. VOTE	FIRST BALLOT				ELECTORAL VOTE (To be cast Dec. 16, 1968)	VIET NAM PLANK VOTE	
		Humphrey	McCarthy	McGovern	OTHERS		For Minority Report	vs. Minority Report
ALABAMA	32	23			9	10	1½	30½
ALASKA	22	17	2	3		3	10	12
ARIZONA	19	14½	2½	2		5	6½	12½
ARKANSAS	33	30	2		1	6	7	25
CALIFORNIA	174	14	91	51	18	40	166	6
CANAL ZONE	5	4		1		0	1½	3½
COLORADO	35	16½	10	5½	3	6	21	14
CONNECTICUT	44	35	8		1	8	13	30
DELAWARE	22	21½			1	3		21
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	23	2			21	3	21	2
FLORIDA	63	58	5			14	7	56
GEORGIA	43	19½	13½	1	9	12	19	23½
GUAM	5	5				0	½	4½
HAWAII	26	26				4		26
IDAHO	25	21	3½	½		4	10	15
ILLINOIS	118	112	3	3		26	13	105
INDIANA	63	49	11	2	1	13	15½	47½
IOWA	46	18½	19½	5	3	9	36	10
KANSAS	38	34	1	3		7	4½	33½
KENTUCKY	46	41	5			9	7	39
LOUISIANA	36	35			1	10	2½	33½
MAINE	27	23	4			4	4½	22½
MARYLAND	49	45	2	2		10	12	37
MASSACHUSETTS	72	2	70			14	56	16
MICHIGAN	96	72½	9½	7½	6½	21	52	44
MINNESOTA	52	38	11½		2½	10	16½	34½
MISSISSIPPI	24	9½	6½	4	2	7	19½	2½
MONTANA	26	23½	2½			4	6	20
NEBRASKA	30	15	6	9		5	19	11
NEVADA	22	18½	2½	1		3	3½	18½
NEW HAMPSHIRE	26	6	20			4	23	3
NEW JERSEY	82	62	19		1	17	24	57
NEW MEXICO	26	15	11			4	11½	14½
NEW YORK	190	96½	87	1½	5	43	148	42
NORTH CAROLINA	59	44½	2	½	12	13	7	51
NORTH DAKOTA	25	18	7			4	6	19
OHIO	115	94	18	2	1	26	48	67
OKLAHOMA	41	37½	2½	½	½	8	4	37
OREGON	35		35			6	29	6
PENNSYLVANIA	130	103¾	21½	2½	2¼	29	35¼	92¼
PUERTO RICO	8	8				0		8
RHODE ISLAND	27	23½	2½		1	4	5	22
SOUTH CAROLINA	28	28				8	1	27
SOUTH DAKOTA	26	2		24		4	26	
TENNESSEE	51	49½	½	1		11	2	49
TEXAS	104	100½	2½		1	25		104
UTAH	26	23	2		1	4	6	20
VERMONT	22	9	6	7		3	17	5
VIRGINIA	54	42½	5½		6	12	8	46
VIRGIN ISLANDS	5	5				0		5
WASHINGTON	47	32½	8½	6		9	15½	31½
WEST VIRGINIA	38	34	3		1	7	8	30
WISCONSIN	59	8	49	1	1	12	52	7
WYOMING	22	18½	3½			3	3½	18½
TOTALS Needed to Nominate: 1,312	**2,622**	**1,760¼**	**601**	**146½**	**112¼**	**538 (To elect: 270)**	**1,041¾**	**1,567¾**

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More Targets Planned?

Massive Soviet Troop Build-Up Preceded Czech Onslaught

By PAUL SCOTT

Those private intelligence briefings for presidential candidates have produced one startling piece of information on Russia's military intervention in Czechoslovakia.

The presidential hopefuls were *told that* the Soviet takeover was preceded by "the greatest military logistic maneuver within the Soviet Union since the end of World War II."

The maneuvers within Russia began on July 23 and involved more than 600,000 Communist troops, according to the Central Intelligence Agency briefers. The military exercise extended from Latvia to the Ukraine, over a distance of 1,000 miles.

The dress rehearsal, which at the time baffled U.S. authorities because of the huge numbers of troops involved, included the building of roads and airfields and laying of camouflaged pipeline in rough country. Tanks and trucks were landed from supply planes. Other planes brought fuel and soldiers.

Automobile transport, the presidential hopefuls were told, was tested by the thousands. The Soviets even staged a simulated nuclear attack with vehicles passing the epicenter of the explosion at top speed, taking the "wounded" to underground hospitals.

Truck repairs were improvised in forests, one CIA aide told Georgia Gov. Lester Maddox, the newest Democratic presidential candidate, during his recent Washington briefing. The supply of material and everyday requirements to the frontline troops was carried out under the cover of darkness.

While there is no doubt now that the Soviet "war games" were used as a dress rehearsal for their troop movements into Czechoslovakia, the massive scale of the Russian military preparations still puzzles U.S. authorities.

"The Kremlin has mobilized enough troops to invade all of its Eastern European satellites and West Germany," stated one CIA briefer. "Although we don't expect the Soviets to pull anything like that, there is evidence that the Russians may be positioning their troops to put new pressure on West Berlin before the November elections."

For instance, large numbers of Soviet military reservists were called up without prior notice during the military maneuvers and most of these troops are now being held in reserve just inside the Soviet Union.

Far more industrial trucks and other vehicles were mobilized than needed for the Czechoslovakian military take-over. This equipment and specialized Soviet troop units are being kept in camps in the Ukraine near the Polish and Czechoslovakian borders.

Had the Soviets merely wanted to support intervention in Czechoslovakia, none of these mobilization moves would have been needed, according to the latest CIA estimates.

During the first week of the massive Soviet maneuvers, huge parallel air exercises were held under the direction of Chief of the Air Force Marshal F. Batitsky.

Although this air operation was a separate exercise, more than 3,000 Soviet aircraft took part in it. The exercise included all the logistical aircraft stationed at airfields in Western Russia.

Highlighting the Red presence in Czechoslovakia is this line of Soviet armor on a Prague street. The Soviets mobilized virtually their entire armed forces bordering East Europe in preparation for the invasion.

"These air maneuvers proved that the Soviet air force has the capability of airlifting upward of 10 Russian divisions to any point within the Soviet bloc within 36 hours," one CIA estimate concluded.

The intelligence report termed the Soviet logistic maneuvers "the most effective test of the mobility of the Soviet armed forces conducted since the end of World War II."

The big question left unanswered by the CIA briefers is whether the military exercises were only preparations for moving troops into Prague or is West Berlin the final target.

Credibility Gap at the New York 'Times'

By SID GOLDBERG

Editor, North American Newspaper Alliance

The New York *Times* is fighting mad. It has attacked Russia in print, and its lead editorial the day after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia calls the act "a brutal retrogression to the suppressionist spirit" that erased freedom in Hungary in 1956.

Grrrrr!

What really angers the New York *Times* editorialists is that "the ability of the United States to do anything beyond diplomatic protest is gravely limited by its over-involvement in the morass of Viet Nam."

In other words, if only there were no U.S. involvement in Viet Nam, the *Times* would have us believe, it would call on Uncle Sam to roll up his sleeves and get tough with Russia.

Presumably, the New York *Times* laments the fact that, because of our "over-involvement" in Viet Nam, we can't stand up to Russia *militarily* over Czechoslovakia. For there is nothing about the Viet Nam war that prevents America from imposing *economic* sanctions against the Soviets, yet the *Times* does not call for them.

Let there be no doubt, however, that the self-styled most influential newspaper in America can be tough toward foreign trouble-makers when it wants to. It fearlessly supports economic sanctions against Rhodesia because that country, by not establishing a one-man, one-vote democracy, has incited the warlike rage of such African democracies as Tanzania, Ethiopia, the United Arab Republic, and Algeria.

With tongue removed from cheek, the unfortunate fact is that the New York Times reserves its moral courage for firm stands against countries that are smaller than the United States. It has taken a get-tough attitude toward Rhodesia, Spain, Cuba under Batista, and all the small-time dictatorships of Latin America. It even attacked Indonesia's Sukarno —once he was out of power.

That's why there is a credibility gap in the *Times*' editorial policy on Soviet aggression. The paper assumes the stance of the braggart who, safely held back by his companions, wrestles vainly to get free so he can take on the bar-room bully, roaring "lemme-at-'im!"

For we all know, and the *Times* knows, that even if there were no Viet Nam war, "The Old Gray Lady" of 43rd Street would call for nothing more than verbally slapping the wrists of the bad boys in the Kremlin. This is all it has ever done in the past.

When the International Committee of Jurists in Geneva confirmed that Red China was guilty of genocide in Tibet, the *Times* did not call for sanctions against Red China (indeed, it consistently has advocated easing the existing ones).

When the Russians stomped through Hungary in 1956, the *Times* did not call for sanctions against Russia (and, ironically, it spent a lot of time rueing the fact that the West's hands were tied by the Anglo-French-Israeli adventure in Egypt).

When the East Berlin riots were put down—tanks against stones—in 1953, the New York *Times* did not call for sanctions.

It is pointless to go on with the list, as the editorial policy is unvarying: decry the act, but do nothing about it.

What makes all this pertinent in understanding the blurred thinking of the New York *Times* and its fan clubs in New York and across the country is another line in its initial editorial on the new Czech crisis.

"Once again," the editorial says, "the world has been given depressing proof of how little value there is to Soviet words about respect for the sovereignty of nations. . . ."

And yet, despite this momentary cynicism toward Communist words and promises, the Times eagerly awaits the day the United States and North Viet Nam will sign a piece of paper agreeing to a truce. The Times would give proper respect for all the words and promises of Ho Chi Minh, and maybe it would even call on Russia to "guarantee" the sanctity of the agreement.

"Once again" the New York *Times* will ignore its own clipping file of broken Communist promises and "once again" it will hail a new era of East-West cooperation and understanding, to be interrupted only every five years or so by rapes and bloodbaths such as those in Czechoslovakia and Hungary. These are what the *Times* calls Soviet "lapses."

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What Are the Black Panthers?

The Oakland trial of Huey Newton has focused national attention on this militant Negro group. Who are its leaders? What does it plan?

By ROBERT BAILEY

Black Panthers are not pussycats. They are members of a highly disciplined, paramilitary organization of young, militant racists, whose Black Panther party today occupies the No. 1 position in the "Black Power" scene. Among radical Negro nationalists, the Panthers possess the same charisma that popularized the Fascist and Nazi Black Shirts prior to World War II.

The Panthers have discovered a technique for filling the desperate need of the young, under-educated, under-employed black man to achieve a sense of pride and purpose. At the same time they have created a villain—the police, the "establishment," the "system"—against which he can vent his hostility and hatred. The psychological emasculation which many young black men suffer—or are told they suffer—is being appealed to by the aggressive, supermale image that the Panthers project. In the process of exploiting this feeling, the Panthers have developed a tremendous potential for a black revolutionary army.

A Black Panther is a proud black man and his women are immensely proud of him. He affects the dress of the arrogant leaders of his party. Straight-hung, soft black leather jackets and black berets, clean white shirts, black trousers, and a variety of slogan-buttons virtually constitute a uniform.

Guns and Guts

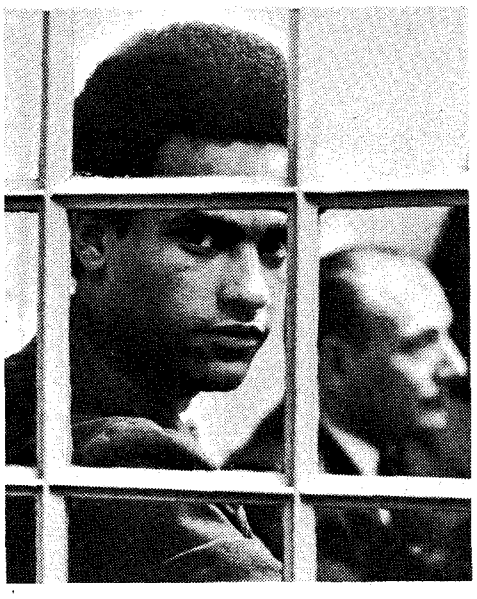
He marches and drills and practices firing weapons of war. He may sport a Guevara-type mustache and beard and wear his hair in the natural African style.

But more than anything else, the Panther's attraction is the guns and guts he displays with absolute defiance. The Panthers are proud of having made the "establishment" nervous, of having polarized themselves with law enforcement, and of the fawning attention and spotlight of the press.

At present a troika of brilliant, revolutionary, totally committed young blacks runs the Black Panther party from Oakland, Calif.: Huey P. Newton, 26, Minister of Defense; Bobby Seale, 31, Chairman of the Black Panther party; and Eldridge Cleaver, 33, Minister of Information.

Newton is currently standing trial for murdering an Oakland police officer and wounding another in a shoot-out which occurred when he was stopped for a routine traffic check in West Oakland, Calif., Oct. 28, 1967. "Free Huey" has become the cry of black militants and white radicals across the nation. From New York to San Francisco, marches and rallies in support of Newton are skyrocketing the Panthers into national prominence and drawing enthusiastic young militant blacks into their ranks.

Bitter, but cool, Huey Newton is the guru of the Black Panthers. Good looking, soft spoken, he is steeped in the twisted ideology that has become the "philosophy" of the party's membership.



Black Panther leader Huey Newton stares out from his cell during a meeting with his lawyer, Charles Garry (in back).

His hatred for the white policeman helped coin the Panther epithet "racist pig cop." During massive demonstrations by the Black Panthers on the steps of Alameda County Court House, where Newton is being held and tried, uniformed Panther men and women chant in cadence, with hand-clapping and a rhythmic in-place shuffle, "Kill the Pig—Free Huey—Get your gun—Free Huey—Off the Pig—Free Huey."

Leader Newton served six months in jail in 1964 for a felony, assault with a deadly weapon, and boasts of having been suspended from school 20 to 30 times. He was once employed by the Office of Equal Opportunity in Oakland, as a neighborhood organizer.

During Newton's murder trial, Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver are jockeying for the empty command post. Cleaver, United States presidential candidate on the Peace and Freedom party ticket, is capitalizing on the publicity gained from his just-published book, *Soul On Ice*, written while serving a six-year prison sentence for a Los Angeles assault to commit rape, assault to commit murder and assault with a dangerous weapon. (He was released Dec. 12, 1966.) He is one of the limited members of the press at Huey Newton's trial as a staff writer for the slick, radical magazine *Ramparts*.

On April 6, 1968, Cleaver, while on parole from prison, was wounded during an attempt, according to the Oakland Police Department, to ambush a patrol car. The battle started when two police officers were hit when fired upon without warning. For 90 minutes a hail of bullets from automatic weapons screamed through the night. Two police cars and the home where the Panthers had taken refuge were destroyed. Seventeen-year-old Bobby Hutton, who at age 14 was Newton's and Seale's first Panther recruit, was killed when he attempted to run from the police.

Subsequently Cleaver's parole was considered violated by the State Adult Authority and he was sent back to jail. However, a judge having jurisdiction ruled that he was being held as a "political prisoner" and ordered him released, but the state attorney general is contesting the legality of the judge's action. As a result of the April 6 gun battle, Cleaver and five other Panthers are facing a charge of attempted murder.

Bobby Seale has a juvenile police record, drew six months' confinement and a dishonorable discharge from the Air Force in 1958 and spent five months in jail for leading an armed invasion of the California State Legislature May 2, 1967, by a large group of Panthers, which included Eldridge Cleaver and "Baby" Bobby Hutton.

In February 1968 Berkeley police arrested Seale, his wife and four others, including David Hilliard, Panther National Headquarters Captain, for conspiracy to commit murder—a charge which was later dropped—and illegal possession of firearms, one of which had its serial numbers filed off. Three months later a superior court judge gave a suspended sentence, on a previous gun charge, with a stern warning that, as a condition of probation "Seale not own or carry dangerous weapons or knowingly associate with those who do . . . that he obey all laws and not associate with persons with known criminal records or tendencies."

Exactly one month later, following major rioting in Richmond, another racially tense Bay Area city, Bobby Seale urged "black brothers and sisters to go home and arm themselves . . . the racist power structure must be disarmed, or it will have to face the wrath of the armed black people." While advocating disarming the Richmond police, Seale said, "Every black has a right to have a gun."

Although a criminal record is not a prerequisite for membership in the Black Panther party, a large number of Panthers have either juvenile or criminal records for a wide range of violations of the law. This contact with the "white racist establishment," as they call it, is a strong factor in the fanatic hostility toward police and the law and is the keystone of Panther politics and strategy.

Birth of the Panthers

When did the Black Panther party organize? Who organized it? Where is it going? How far has it gone? What is the glue that holds it together? Most of these questions are answered by the Panthers themselves. Never before has a revolutionary movement in the United States been more daring or articulate in stating its methods and goals.

Huey Newton met Bobby Seale about 1961 in Oakland, Calif. At that time Seale was a member of the NAACP. According to Newton, "A group of Socialists came down from Cal [University of California, Berkeley] and were putting on a rally in front of Oakland City College. . . . Many of the students were upset—the reactionary students, including Bobby. . . . This was the first meeting, and I got him into a debating group. . . . Finally, I recruited him to the Afro-American Association."

The Afro-American Association was one of the first seeding organizations of the so-called "black liberation struggle." In 1964 it was associated with the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and the most violence-prone black militants today have sprung from RAM's early contacts with Cuba and China. Newton said recently in a jail interview, "I was very impressed with the Cuban revolution, and the leadership the country had, Che Guevara and Fidel Castro. I think it's a model for colonial people."

Newton became disillusioned with the Afro-American Association and left, and about a year later Bobby Seale left and joined the Revolutionary Action Movement. By the latter part of 1965 Bobby Seale had dropped out of RAM and he and Newton became friends.

Together Newton and Seale hammered out the first positions to be taken by the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, as it was called then. Newton said the name was taken from a group in Lowndes County, Ala., in appreciation of the Panther symbol because "It is not in the panther's nature to attack anyone first, but when it is attacked and backed into a corner, he will respond viciously and wipe out the aggressor thoroughly, wholly, absolutely, and completely."

Legitimizing the need to carry guns for self-defense did not originate with Newton and Seale, but with RAM chief-in-exile Robert Williams, whose book *Negroes With Guns* put forth the fabricated necessity for black self-defense. The FBI Wanted poster on Williams for "Interstate Flight-Kidnapping" describes him as "previously diagnosed as a schizophrenic—armed and dangerous."

One of the first "guns for defense" situations to develop with American Negroes was in the small town of Bogalusa, La., where a group called the "Deacons for Defense and Justice" was formed, ostensibly to offset the persecution of the KKK.

A Communist publication, following the Watts riot, stated, "The Deacons are following the lead of [Robert] Williams" and added, "The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) now supports independent Negro political action through the 'Black Panther party.' The movement headed by Robert Williams . . . took the position 'We must fight back!' They were the first to see the necessity and legitimacy of organizing for self-defense."

Stokely Carmichael, a founder of the Lowndes County Black Panther party before he had become chairman of SNCC, told a San Francisco audience in January 1966, "Our supporters are carrying guns to protect themselves at the polls." Interviewed in May 1966, Carmichael talked about the future: "I want to work toward 1972. By then the Negroes should be organized as an independent force. We have the power to smash the Democratic party. If we

(*Continued on next page*)

Robert Bailey, who contributed "Unionism: Next Crisis for American Universities" (Human Events, *Dec. 30, 1967*), *is the pen name of a California expert on internal security affairs.*

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do that, they'll never be able to put it together again."

In the last two years more water has gone under the bridge in the area of black revolution than is possible to comprehend. Carmichael and his followers no longer use the term "Negro." The "self-defense" facade has been dropped from the revolutionary scheme. The Newton-Seale organization is now the Black Panther party and counts among its national officers such attention-getters as ex-SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael, Black Panther Prime Minister; former SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman, Black Panther Minister of Foreign Affairs; ex-SNCC Chairman H. Rap Brown, Black Panther Minister of Justice.

It is reported the Oakland-based national Panther party headquarters has about 100 hard-core, well-disciplined troops, plus a large undetermined number of young black men and women who fall into the Panther orbit and consider themselves members. This situation is similar to Gus Hall's description of the Communist Party, U.S.A., membership as also including "state-of-mind Communists" which number in the thousands.

Oakland Panthers have fanned out across the country and have established, or are currently developing, chapters in San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Seattle, St. Louis, Detroit, Cleveland, New York and Newark, N.J.

The Oakland headquarters edits and supervises the publication of a 30-page Black Panther newspaper which sells for 25¢. The last edition of 30,000 copies was sold from California to New York. It is reported the margin of profit is enormous and has been one of the primary sources of income for the Panthers' operations. The dynamic racism of their newspaper blatantly defines the revolutionary aims of the Black Panther party.

A March 1968 issue, headlined "Pigs Run Amok," carries a cartoon by Panther Minister of Culture Emory Douglas depiciting President Johnson, Robert Kennedy, Dean Rusk and Robert McNamara as pigs hung by the throat from a tree, with Douglas' caption: "On Landscape Art—'It is good only when it shows the oppressor hanging from a tree by his [obscenity] neck'." A realistic drawing by Douglas in the May issue depicts an armed Panther surrounded by his arsenal: Poor Man's Napalm—Gas and Ivory Flakes, explosives and torches.

Black Bourgeoisie Attacked

Following the assassination of Robert Kennedy, the Panther newspaper ran a drawing of Kennedy as a dead pig, photos of his Negro bodyguards described as LBJ "bootlickers" and a flattering portrait of Sirhan Sirhan.

The paper gives major space to the political ideology of its leaders, Seale, Newton and Cleaver. It carries full-page ads for "Revolutionary Posters" of LeRoi Jones, Rap Brown, Newton and Seale with guns and spears. Ads for literature by Robert Williams and one of the Panthers' favorite political tracts, *The Catechism of the Revolutionist*, by Mikhail Alexandrovich Bakunin, a contemporary of Karl Marx, provide the propaganda base for potential members.

The "Catechism" is described by the Panthers as "one of the most important formulations of principles in the entire history of revolution." Says the introduction by the Panthers' Minister of Information:

"Read the *Catechism*. Perhaps you will find a word or phrase that will enhance your revolutionary perspective and intensify your activity. . . . Afro-American revolutionaries are fighting for national liberation—against a common enemy: White Racist Capitalism and its bastard offspring, Colonialism, Imperialism, and Neo-Colonialism. . . . It's time to intensify the Struggle. Within the black colony of Afro-America, this means a declaration of war upon the black bourgeoisie and upon the class of Big Business Men who have turned the National Liberation Struggle into Big Business. These Civil Rights Executives must be allowed one choice only: total cooperation with the forces of national liberation or facing a terrible consequence."

This could have been the battle order to assassinate civil rights leaders in the East recently. Herman B. Ferguson, a one-time assistant principal of a Queens, N.Y., public school, was one of those convicted of this plot. One of the assassination targets, Whitney Young Jr., identified Ferguson in court as a member of a "terrorist cell" in the Revolutionary Action Movement.

In a New York *Free Press* article discussing a July 19-21 "Black Caucus" aimed at forming a new militant black organization, its was stated that "Among the top militant figures expected to appear are LeRoi Jones, Maulanera Karenga, *Herman Ferguson*, *Bobbie Seale*, Max Stanford, Sol Herbert, Robert Carson, and Lincoln Lynch" (emphasis added).

In RAM's official magazine, *Black America*, Max Stanford, co-leader with Robert Williams, has warned, " . . . The revolution will strike by night and spare none. Mass riots will occur in the day with the Afro-Americans blocking traffic, burning buildings, etc. Thousands of Afro-Americans will be in the street fighting, for they will know that this is it."

A flier distributed by the Newark, N.J., Panther chapter announcing a July 23, 1968, meeting at which Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, James Forman and SNCC's new chief, Phil Hutchings, were to appear, declared: "The dominant subject of the meeting is to discuss Huey Newton, who is currently on trial by an immorally illegal White racist jury of the Oakland Police Department. . . . It is not only Huey Newton on trial but ALL BLACK PEOPLE."

It is well established that the Panthers have close associations with members of RAM. The Panther ideology, the glue that holds it together, is for the most part that of RAM.

Having discarded the "self-defense" concept, Black Panther party propaganda draws heavily on the same sources as RAM: the Red Chinese, the Cuban revolutionaries and a black revolutionary writer of the bloody French-Algerian war, Franz Fanon, whose *The Wretched of the Earth*, called a handbook for the black revolution, is widely quoted by the Panthers. The Panther watchword, "Political power comes out of the barrel of a gun!" is a famous slogan of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Newton, Seale and Cleaver have reduced their political position to some iron-bound cliches: Black America is a colonial nation existing within the White Mother Country; white and black policemen are the brutalizing, occupying troops in the ghetto—the enemy—representing the white capitalist power structure; white America plans the extinction and mass genocide of black Americans who must arm themselves for their own survival; American involvement in Viet Nam is demonstrating the vicious racist goal of white America to oppress, exploit and annihilate the "colored" peoples of the world.

A confidential directive entitled "Political Education Kit—For Black Panther Party Members" recently sent out by the Panthers' Oakland headquarters stated that the primary objective of the organization was "To Establish Revolutionary Political Power of Black People."

"Free Huey" has been a rallying cry for the black militants (and the Communists, among others). This was the scene at the Alameda County Court House as the Black Panthers maintain a vigil during the murder trial of Newton.

Mao's Quotations Studied

The directive states: "The Black Panther is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at the present, the Black Panther party should certainly not confine itself to only fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, our party must also shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming Black People, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up party organizations."

Following this declaration is the Black Panther motto: "We do not want war. We are the advocates of the abolition of war, but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to pick up the gun." It is signed: "Power to the People. Black Power to the People. PANTHER POWER." Even the Panthers' motto is not original; it is virtually a verbatim quote from Mao Tse-tung, to whom they do not give credit.

The small, red-covered bible that most Panthers carry is *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, printed in Peking in 1966. They are expected to read and apply the contents of the Red Guard Manual, substituting appropriate Panther terminology for that of the Chinese Reds. As have Robert Williams, Max Stanford, Stokely Carmichael, and other spokesmen for the Cuban and Chinese revolutions, the Panthers draw literally and directly from the guide of Mao. In the Panthers' "Political Education Kit" it is stated: "We must . . . teach party members to apply the Marxist-Leninist method in analyzing a political situation. . . ."

Last year Chairman Bobby Seale, with other troops of the Black Panthers, hawked copies of Mao's Red Guard Manual at the entrance to Berkeley's University of California campus. At the time Seale was working for an Oakland OEO poverty center, but was fired for allegedly wearing his gun to work.

As the Black Panthers move into the phase of national organization they are becoming increasingly dictatorial toward their membership. Taking the stance of a secret paramilitary army, they have issued directives on the conduct, discipline and allegiance of the membership.

These orders state: "Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. . . . Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the Black Panther party."

The first rule is: "No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work." Another: "No party member will point or fire a weapon unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone other than the enemy." Rule number six: "No party member can join any other army or force other than the Black Liberation Army." Other rules apply to stealing from fellow members, being drunk while on duty and the procedure to follow during an arrest.

Recent Panther rallies in city parks and at demonstrations show the results of military drill and the knowledge of close-order formation. Though not reaching the level of professional training, they nevertheless indicate they are extremely well-disciplined, willing to take orders and immensely proud of their role in the organization. On all occasions when Panthers are working as a team the effectiveness of their chain of command and use of walkie-talkies and other communications equipment is impressive.

The growing strength and momentum of the Black Panther party has resulted from its profitable alliances with other revolutionary groups. The "Free Huey Movement" has the support of the Afro-American Student Union, the Black Student Union, Honkys for Huey, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Socialist Workers party, the Independent Socialist Club, Students for a Democratic Society, the Progressive Labor party, and anti-draft and anti-war groups.

At the June 1968 SDS national convention in Michigan, this alliance bore fruit with SDS pledges: to give full support in whatever manner needed to the defense of Huey Newton; that their membership will work in local areas of the country to build support for Huey Newton's defense; and that the national office (SDS) shall coordinate a national program of education about the Black Panther party. In addition, Tom Hayden, a white founder of SDS and an alleged instigator of the 1967 Newark riots, has taken the job of coordinating Eldridge Cleaver's campaign for President of the United States.

But the most productive affilia-

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tions for the Panthers have been their merger with SNCC, their coalition with the Peace and Freedom party and the recent declaration by the Communist party of the United States that it supports Huey Newton.

In February 1968, it was announced that SNCC and the Black Panther party would merge. Since that date the association of the two organizations has become a major force in the growing success of the Panthers' program. Stokely Carmichael has flown into Oakland on numerous missions and many high-level secret meetings have been held between the two groups to map out future strategy.

The same month this merger was announced, Carmichael chaired a closed Black United Front meeting of black Bay Area leaders under tight security measures maintained by the Panthers. No whites were present, there was no press coverage (in spite of the fact that a number of black reporters were present) and those in attendance were told not to discuss the meeting with anyone.

While in Oakland as a featured speaker for a huge rally to raise funds for Newton's legal defense, Carmichael said, "Brother Huey P. Newton is going to be freed—or else!" After a visit to Newton's jail cell, Carmichael told Huey's mother, "You gave birth to a beautiful warrior." Of Carmichael, Bobby Seale said, "He is a grand field marshal for the Black Panthers, with jurisdiction from Canada to Mexico."

During the July 1968 demonstrations by the Panthers on the steps of the court house where Newton is being tried, James Forman, who, in addition to being the Panthers' Minister of Foreign Affairs, is the chairman of SNCC's International Affairs Committee, lent his prestige and tactical knowledge to the affair. At a SNCC-Panther press conference, held July 23, 1968, at the United Nations building in New York, Forman told reporters that Huey Newton can be considered a young Robert Williams.

The Peace and Freedom party formed a coalition with the Panthers at their state founding convention in Richmond, Calif., March 1968. They adopted the Panthers' 10-point program to "liberate the black community" after Panther Minister of Information Cleaver presented it to the delegation and there was a hint of a walkout by black and Mexican-American delegates if it failed to pass. Also included in the Peace and Freedom party's endorsement was the Panthers' campaign to free Newton "by whatever means necessary which will further the black liberation movement."

'Black Nation' Plan

Cleaver, ex-convict turned writer, held a news conference July 24, 1968, at the United Nations with the 15-member Panther Central Committee. He warned that if Huey Newton were found guilty and sentenced to death the state would have to carry out the sentence "over our dead bodies . . . they will have to kill us first. . . . If there has to be war, then let there be war." The Peace and Freedom party representative upheld his group's support for "whatever actions are taken in the black community" if Newton were not freed.

Cleaver and other members of the Oakland headquarters staff were in New York to appeal to the United Nations to "authorize the stationing of observer teams throughout the cities of North America wherein black people are cooped up and concentrated in wretched ghettoes." In addition to this mission, the Panthers are seeking to bring U.N. observers to the Newton trial, where they claim "old bald-headed racists . . . are predetermined to send him to the gas chamber."

The Panthers also are determined to bring about "a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the Black Colony in which only Black Colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of Black people as to their national destiny." Or, as Newton states, " . . . where Black people can decide whether they want to participate in the present society or withdraw."

This "black nation" plan coincides with the efforts of a Detroit-based black separatist organization, whose elected leader, Robert Williams, reportedly is in Tanzania preparing to return to the United States as president of the Republic of New Africa, as it is called.

This group's strategy is to form a new nation for blacks only out of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina with the help of alliances with African and Asian nations, including Red China. It was to further this aim that Cleaver and other Panther leaders met with the Cuban and Tanzanian missions to the United Nations and it is believed that black revolutionaries in the United States are receiving funds through conduits from these and other revolutionary countries.

Receiving little press notice, but of significance is the support given Newton and the Panthers by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by Ralph Abernathy. One SCLC leader, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, has offered to go to Oakland for the trial of Huey Newton.

Many public figures have lent their names to the Panther movement. Marlon Brando was one of the subjects of a $78-million suit by the Oakland and Emeryville police, after he had allegedly created the impression to listeners of the Joey Bishop TV show that the police "murdered" Black Panther Treasurer Bobby Hutton during the April 1968 gun battle. Brando attended Hutton's Panther-guarded funeral and later the same day made an impassioned speech to a Panther demonstration near Huey's jail site, before the eyes of national TV.

Bobby Hutton's death, which has been ruled by the Grand Jury "as lawful conduct on the part of the police," has been almost as much of a cause celebre for the Panthers as Newton's trial. A constant stream of distortions and propaganda to support the myth of "police brutality" has been issued by the Panthers and their political allies.

The Communist influence within the Black Panther party, as with other black militant groups, is enormous. But, in the end, as with the merger with SNCC and other alliances, it is the Panthers who are calling the plays, not the other way around. Panther political philosophy and guerrilla strategy is a direct outgrowth of Maoism. Panthers have had little use for the bureaucracy, gradualism and manipulative talents of the Russian brand of communism and the Panthers' rejection of the Communist Party, U.S.A., has been a major concern of Gus Hall's group, which has always been in the forefront of exploitation of racial conflict.

The initial efforts by the Communist party to move in and take over the Oakland Panther movement met with an immediate and hostile "get the hell out of the ghetto!" National Communist party officers held a crisis caucus, local Red officials were chastised for letting the black militants slip through their hands and plans for wooing them into CP influence were mapped out. Money was funnelled into the Panther movement, Communist party legal machinery was put to work on the defense of arrested Panthers and the Old Left and New Left joined the "Free Huey" battle cry. Since it is currently to their benefit, Panthers are tolerating this radical white assistance.

Newton's Leftist Attorney

The rejection of black attorneys to defend Newton has caused conflict within the militant ranks. And it is viewed as a clever tactic that the Panthers have allowed a left-wing white attorney, with vast experience in the field of court procedures in "civil rights" cases, to defend Newton and other Panthers. Charles R. Garry, whose firm "Garry, Dreyfus, and McTernan" is practically the official Panther counsel, was identified as a Communist party member in 1957 during a congressional investigation. Garry's partner, Benjamin Dreyfus, was identified as a former Communist during the same hearings. Both men were actively involved in the subversive Civil Rights Congress, which "associated the Party's struggle with the defense of civil liberties, *Negro rights* and protection of the foreign-born." (SACB 1957, HCUA "Communist Legal Subversion" 2-59).

Although pleading innocent to the charges of murder, assault and kidnapping, Newton's propaganda defense and the target of his counsel is the jury system itself. Garry contends, "what's on trial is the issue of white racism in the jury."

When asked if he could get a fair trial Newton said, "Under the present system a fair trial would be impossible. But I have faith in the community and in my attorney, and we will try to revolutionize this institution," which Newton called "racist, representative of the ruling class—not the people." Said Garry, "We're trying to project into the courtroom what the black liberation movement is saying on the outside."

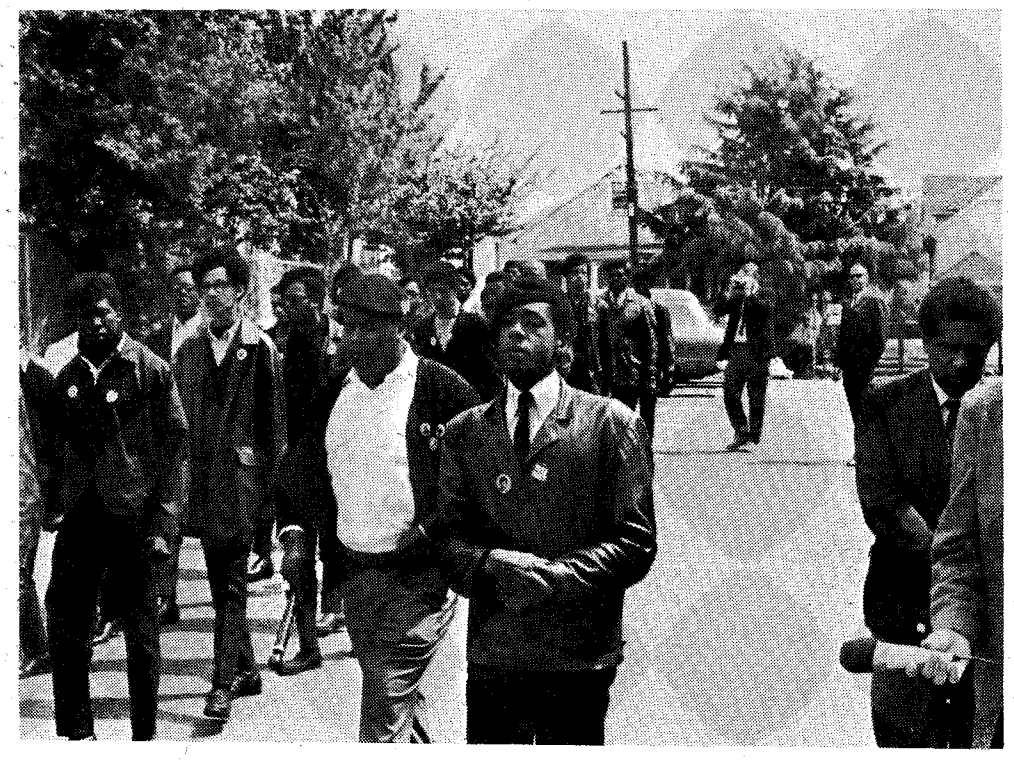
And on the outside, marching with Black Panthers, was Mrs. Charlene Mitchell, "Communist candidate for President and the first black woman ever nominated for the office," carrying a "Free Huey" placard, accompanied by Roscoe Proctor, "Northern California Communist Party leader and militant black activist."

In May 1968 a Communist Party May Day Forum held a large meeting in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park. Entitled "Are We Headed for Another VIETNAM Inside Our Cities? What You Can Do to Stop Police Repression in the Ghetto!", spokesmen from the Black Panther party, the Communist party, the Peace and Freedom Movement, Stop the Draft Week and labor continued their amalgamated fight to emasculate law enforcement.

The same month a plea for funds was sent out to sympathizers over the signatures of identified Communists, University of California staff members, and Old and New Leftists, asking for support for the Bay Area Committee to Defend Political Freedoms. "We ask you to lend your name with us to a non-newspaper 'newspaper advertisement' supporting "Free Huey Newton," the letter requested.

The following month the "Oakland Tribunal," a slap at the Panther-hated Oakland *Tribune*, was given saturation distribution in the area. Almost 250 persons contributed funds for its publication. The list of sponsors included identified Communists dating back to the charter party of 1919, national officers of the party, far-left professors, doctors, clergymen, lawyers, radical students, artists and teachers. "Free Huey" has become the latest and brightest tool of the left to fan the fires of social tension.

Robert Avakian, Eldridge Cleaver's presidential campaign manager and probably the white man most closely associated with the Panthers, is the activist son of an Alameda County Superior Court judge who was once president of the Berkeley Board of Education. Over a year ago young Avakian said, " . . . we should help raise funds and supply weapons for groups like the Black Panther party . . . we white radicals must not only run guns to the black revolutionaries, we must also move within the white community to build a force for full equality."



Black Panthers drill as an honor guard for their slain comrade Bobby Hutton. At center with crossed hands is chairman Bobby Seale; at far right is "Minister of Foreign Affairs" James Forman.

Let there be no mistake: no radical organization has successfully infiltrated the Panthers, nor do any of them dictate Panther policy. They are all trying to ride the wave of what they believe to be the revolutionary future, and becoming supporting allies of the Panthers appears to be the best way to do it. The Panthers are tolerating this radical "foreign aid" as long as it accelerates their program.

Roy Wilkins has suggested there may be a shift in black militant strategy toward black electoral power—"ballots or bullets," as Malcolm X said. Newark's LeRoi Jones and Phil Hutchings,

(*Continued on next page*)

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SNCC's new chairman, have both talked about taking over core cities by electoral methods. Carmichael has said, however, "the vote ain't nothing but a honky trick." Although the Panthers are running candidates for public office, it would appear that this is more a publicity device, for their contempt for the American system precludes their taking this technique seriously.

Radical Activities Advocated

The Panthers are not interested in the usual methods of obtaining civil rights. Gov. Ronald Reagan has placed more Negroes in executive positions on his staff than any previous administration in the state of California, but to the Panthers all such Negroes are "Uncle Toms" and are considered to have sold out to the "establishment."

At an Oakland Panther rally, Carmichael boldly attacked the "moderate" Negro with the threat "if we can't bring our people home" with "patience, love, brotherhood and unity . . . " and they become a threat "we off them" (assumed to be the vernacular for "kill"). The intimidation of Negroes who do not support the Panthers is a real and present danger.

An anti-white war was virtually declared before the 7,000 people attending the SNCC-Panther rally in Oakland's auditorium last February. Bobby Seale told the screaming audience "put a shotgun in your house" because "for the black people in this country war has been made upon them." James Forman said if any Panther or SNCC leaders were assassinated, he could envision destruction of "war factories and power plants," attacks on police stations and "protracted retribution on some governors and mayors and on white pig cops."

Rap Brown, Panther Minister, stated flatly, "The only politics relevant to black people in this country is the politics of revolution. . . . The only thing that's going to free Huey is gunpowder. . . . He's paid his price. How many white people did you kill today?"

Oakland Chief of Police Charles Gain has said that the Black Panther party "is a threat to the peaceful persons, both black and white, in this community." Mayor John H. Reading, an outspoken critic of the Panthers, said, "I don't believe these militant extremists are truly representative of the decent, solid Negro citizens who have education, jobs, homes and a feeling for this community."

Nevertheless, Panther ranks are growing with amazing speed. From a New York underground paper: "Dealing with the task of organizing the black community for necessary combat, the Panthers are cogent. Their tight military-gang image is immediately recognized by the cat on the street. In Brooklyn the Panthers have grown from a name to an 800-man organization in a month. . . . They now have chapters in Brooklyn, the Bronx and Manhattan. The situation in the ghetto is becoming desperate. The Panther organization is quietly expanding: rapidly."

When the question is asked, "What does the Black Panther party want?" the answers its members give are part rhetoric, part diffusion, and part a universal appeal to the underdeveloped black man.

Their "political platform," created in 1966, lists 10 points, which include such agreeable issues as: "We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. . . ." Nobody can argue with, "We want full employment for our people," or "We want decent housing. . . ." But then common sense deserts the platform with demands like these: "We want all black men to be exempt from military service. . . ." And "We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails." And, "We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. . . ."

An editorial column in the University of California's *Daily Californian*, a paper not noted for its conservative views, blasted the "non-thought, gut reaction to oppression" contained in the Black Panther party. The columnist called the Panthers' "10-point program . . . vacant generalities and absurd manifestos unique outside of children's literature" and charged the Panthers with not articulating "plausible short-term goals."

Biding Their Time

"As a group of home-grown guerrilla warriors," the editorial said, "they simply don't make it, as a group of righteous assassins or protectors of the community, they simply don't make it; and most importantly, as a radical group in the black community dedicated to changing that community for the better, they simply don't make it. . . . Do they want a Socialist state . . . seriously want their own police . . . seriously want the administrative responsibilities of running their own communities? If they do, I would ask that they shut up for once and get down to business."

What the Panthers do want, they say, is "the power to determine the destiny of our black community" and that destiny, as proclaimed by the Panthers, would be a Socialist state. Since the "Socialist" states they seem to admire and emulate are Cuba and Red China, it must be assumed this is the state they wish to see exist in America.

At least this would be the form of "proletarian politics" that would most likely run their "all black nation" if the Panthers' pressed-for black plebiscite to create their own country within the boundaries of the United States were to succeed.

But then, perhaps, the *Daily Cal*'s biting columnist has reached closer to the truth when he says that the Panthers are "all hung up" on pistols as sex symbols and asserts that their "potency and virility [are] confused with an uncompromising and unthoughtful militancy." If this is the case, then the answer to the question of what the Panthers want is really manhood. And that, in a civilized society, is not obtained "through the barrel of a gun."

With the exception of isolated shoot-outs with the Oakland Police Department, the city's Panther headquarters staff is successful in exerting control over its troops, waiting for the day when their armament and number of trained guerrillas have reached the point where they think they are a match for one of the most skilled law enforcement agencies in the country.

Like the Fidelistas who swarmed out of the Cuban hills, Panthers hope to sweep from their "ghetto" strongholds in a revolutionary action timed to coincide with similar action across the nation.

Race war in the United States, as preached by founder Newton, would "destroy the machinery that's enslaving the world. America cannot stand to fight every black country in the world and fight a civil war at the same time. . . . The racist dog oppressors have no rights which oppressed black people are bound to respect . . . the oppressor must be harassed until his doom. He must have no peace by day or by night. . . .

Black people must now move . . . to seize by any means necessary a proportionate share of the power vested and collected in the structure of America . . . the racist dog oppressor fears the armed people, they fear most of all black people armed with weapons and the ideology of the Black Panther party . . . when the people move for liberation they must have the basic tool of liberation, the gun. . . ."

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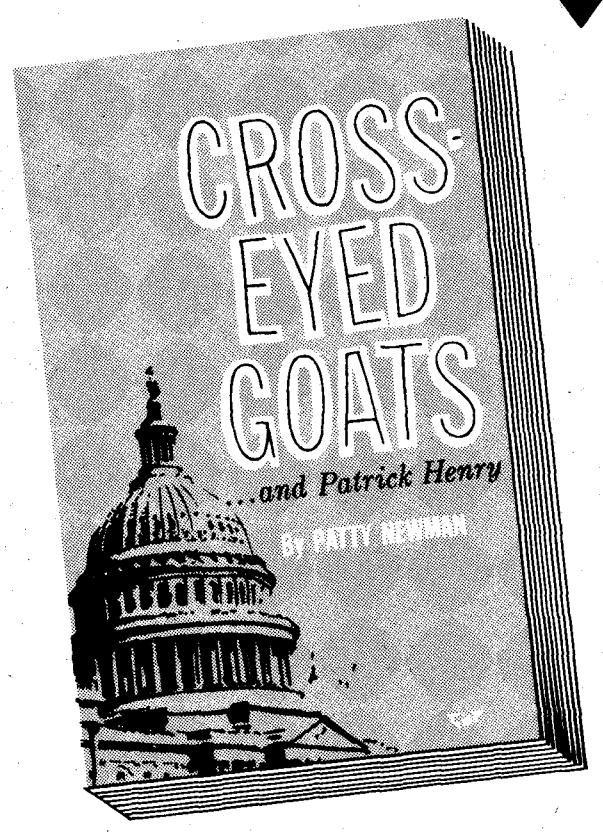

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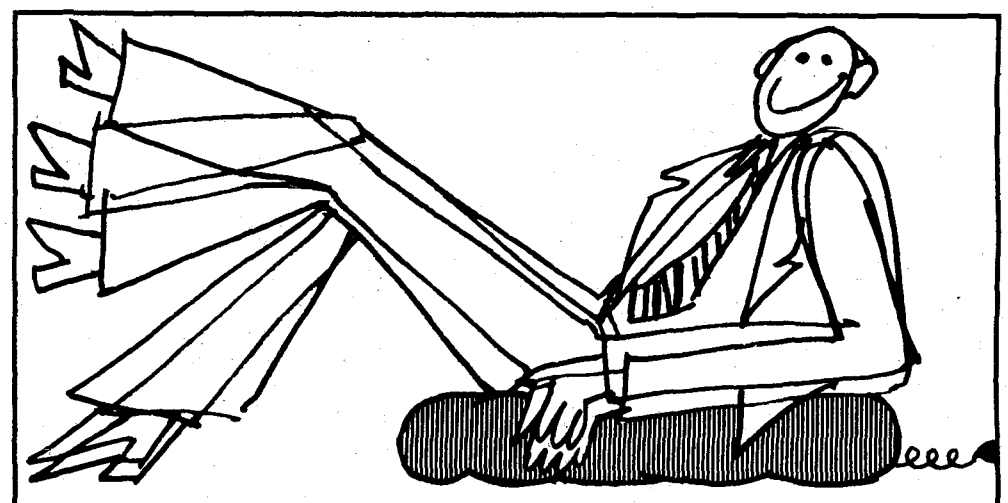

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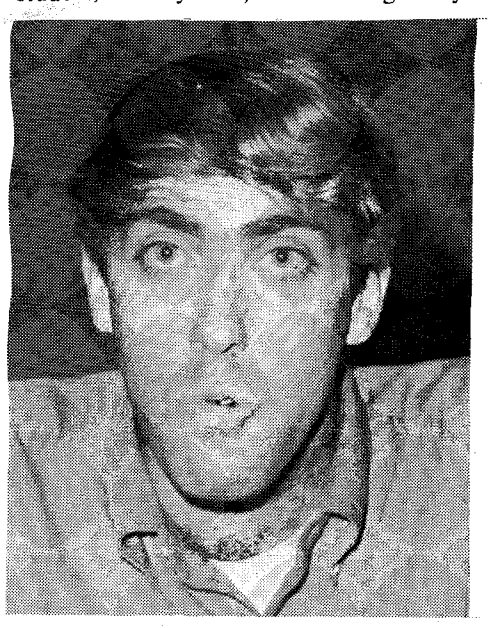
More Trouble at Columbia?

SDS prepares for new demonstrations

By ALICE WIDENER

New York:—By utmost coincidence, on the very day, August 16, that the executive secretary of the Alumni Federation of Columbia University, Inc., sent me an advance copy of the tentative recommendations from the Board of Directors of the Federation to Columbia University, my friend Newton H. Fulbright, associate editor of *Editor & Publisher*, was mugged in broad daylight at Columbia on the way from Morningside Heights, proposed site of the new Columbia gymnasium, to the university library. Mr. Fulbright, fortunately unhurt, phoned immediately after he had made a formal complaint at the police station. A top newspaper reporter, he believes the mugger was a student; at any rate, Mr. Fulbright says



Columbia SDS leader Mark Rudd was a leading force behind the April outbursts.

the criminal was a well-spoken Negro who had hidden in bushes, wielded an eight-inch knife, was sober and wore good quality clothes.

Whether or not the young man who stole Mr. Fulbright's money and pocket watch was indeed a student, the crime is symptomatic of the tragic present conditions at Columbia University where Students for a Democratic Society are threatening to terrorize the campus in cooperation with black militants from Harlem. Most of the latter are not Columbia students but outsiders brought in by student body radicals.

The excellent tentative statement of position submitted by the Alumni Federation of Columbia to its trustees as a basis for action states, "The previous determination of the administration as to discipline of students should be supported. The pending disciplinary proceedings should be concluded before classes resume this fall. We are deeply concerned that the summer is being wasted and that there has been so little sense of urgency in clearing up this certain source of future student friction."

Future friction is indeed certain, judging by what a steady stream of parents, students and teachers to my office-home in Manhattan have had to say. The visitors have not been group representatives; they are individuals who read articles early this year about the student riots and rebellions scheduled to take place during 10 days in April. Because accuracy inspires confidence, my mail since April has been filled with letters from professors, students and parents directly connected with Columbia and with other universities.

If the Columbia administration does not exert firm leadership, ban SDS from campus, and exercise strictest possible control over entry into campus, then—on the basis of what has been confided to me—I predict there will be young corpses there. Moreover, I predict SDS will try its utmost to provoke the worst kind of racial strife at Columbia, an institution located in the Harlem community.

A most tragic development at Columbia is that the moderates in the student body are quitting the struggle for peace due to lack of administration support and leadership. With tears in his eyes, a senior on the dean's honors list told me recently, "Though moderates are in the majority, they have no adult leadership and no funds to do what needs to be done. The leftist radicals get all the money they need. My parents say if there's trouble on campus they're going to yank me out and sue for tuition refund. SDS has infiltrated administration offices as employes; SDS people work for the administration from 9 to 5 and against it from 5 to 9. Security in the administration is so lax that the infiltrators are able to get carbons of anything they want."

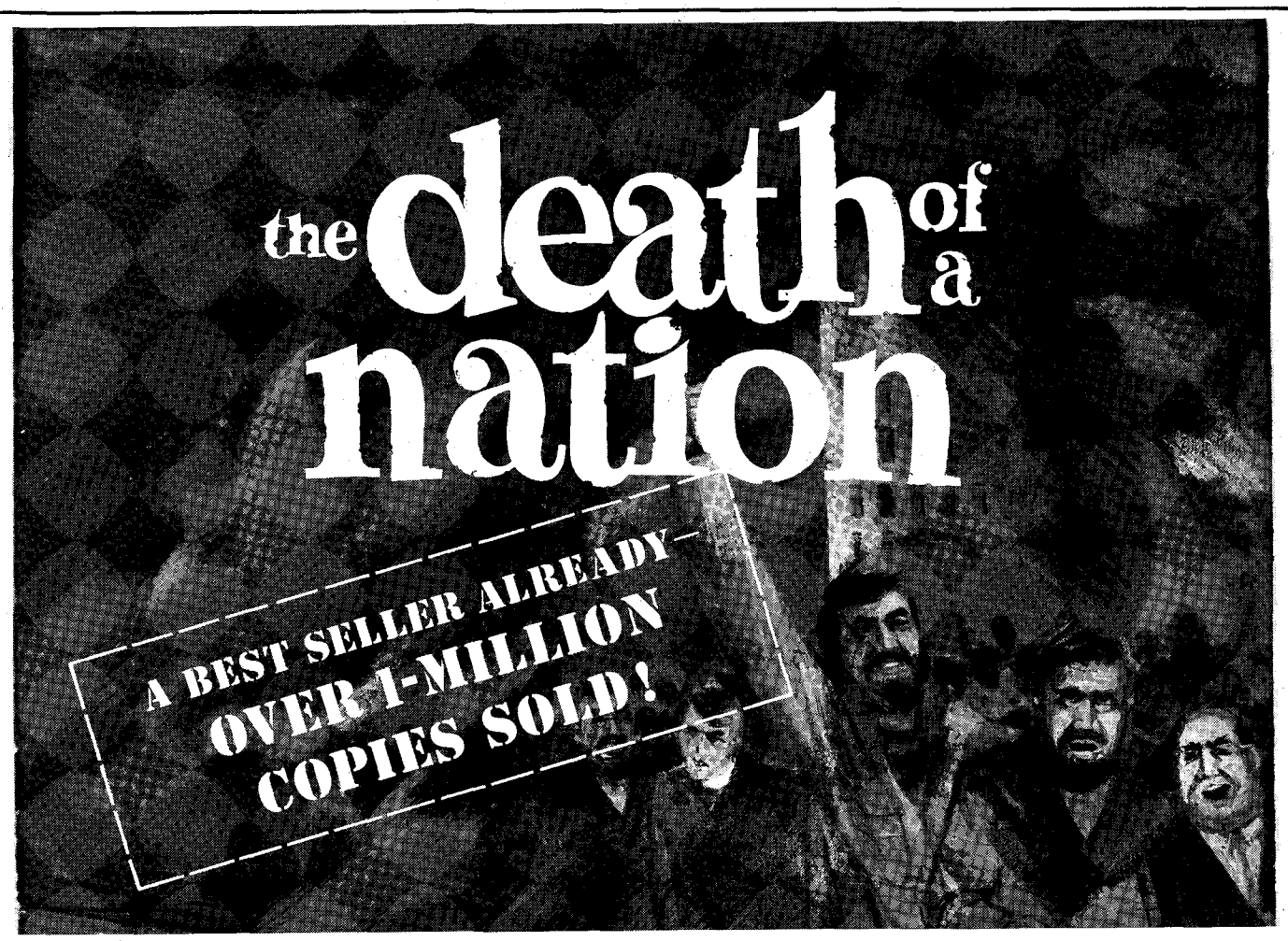
Several students at Columbia have told me their lives have been threatened by SDS members. These students say SDS plans to firebomb Columbia and SDS members have trained from 250 to 400 Harlem high school students to hurl rocks, Molotov cocktails and wield knives during violent incidents on campus.

"There could be an ultra left-ultra right showdown this month," said a Columbia junior. "SDS has been organizing and planning for campus disruption all summer on campus, while most students have been away working at summer jobs, or traveling or staying home with their parents. To frustrate SDS plans, we moderates would have to risk our lives. Or else the campus will have to be secured by police for 24 hours a day and maybe by the National Guard."

Newton H. Fulbright says about his ride in a police patrol car around the Columbia area today to try to find the criminal who mugged him, "It's a combat zone. The hostility against police is so intense you feel you can touch it. The look in the cops' eyes is like the steely, never-ending watchfulness of combat troops. I haven't seen that look since I was fighting at Salerno and Cassino."

This is no time for Columbia University trustees, alumni and administrators to split hairs in well-intentioned intellectual debates over what should and shouldn't be done. If something drastic is not done before school opens in September, there probably will be corpses on Columbia campus.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)



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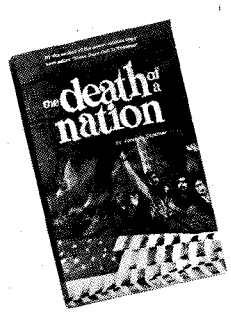

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RACES of the WEEK

*This is another installment of our regular pre-election feature, "Races of the Week." Each week until November, **Human Events** will cover as many key election contests as space permits.*

Florida's 10th District

Burke vs. Gissendanner

"This should *finish* Mr. Burke," crowed a top Florida Democrat when a three-judge federal panel redrew the state's congressional district lines last August.

Two years ago freshman Rep. J. Herbert Burke won a whopping *61 per cent* of the vote and seemed assured of a long stay in Washington. But no longer. As the Fort Lauderdale *News* commented editorially, "The new district was purposely carved to favor the election of a Democrat."

A huge chunk of liberal Dade County (Miami) was placed in the new district at the same time the conservative areas of North Broward County were moved into the 9th Congressional District.

Approximately one-third of the district's 244,147 registered voters are located in Dade County, where Democrats outnumber Republicans by 6 to 1 and in the remaining two-thirds of the district the Democrats hold a 2-to-1 edge although Republicans—including Burke—have run well.

Democratic nominee Elton Gissendanner is making Burke's Republicanism the major issue of the campaign. "I served in the legislature with Mr. Burke's Republican cohorts and I know what they stand for," Gissendanner said. "A Democrat cares for people and a Republican cares for himself, his pocketbook and his coupons."

During his two terms in the state house Gissendanner was little more than a cog in the liberal Dade County machine. If elected to Congress, he has made clear that he would line up with the Miami area's two other congressmen, Claude Pepper and Dante Fascell, on the left side of the ideological aisle.

Not surprisingly, the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education has promised "substantial aid" to Gissendanner. COPE operatives talk scornfully of Burke's "anti-labor" voting record, charging that he voted "against the

J. HERBERT BURKE

working man" 93 per cent of the time, on issues ranging from public power to model cities.

Burke is returning to the district at every opportunity to defend his record. Extensive public opinion surveys convince him that his conservative record (ADA rating: 8) accurately reflects his constituents' views.

The Democrats are attacking Burke not only for his conservatism, but for his "ineffectiveness" as well. Consider this recent demand by Broward County Democratic Chariman Bob Curtis: "Burke should resign and come home if he can't do anything about getting the *Pueblo* and her crew out of North Korea."

Gissendanner has promised a vigorous campaign. Ironically, he is not a resident of the district, living instead in Fascell's 12th district. But Burke says that Gissendanner's residence is not an important issue. "The main issue is the sharp philosophical gulf that divides Mr. Gissendanner and myself. I have complete confidence in the wisdom of the 10th district voters." (Burke for Congress Committee: 908 North Federal Highway, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.).

New Mexico's 2nd District

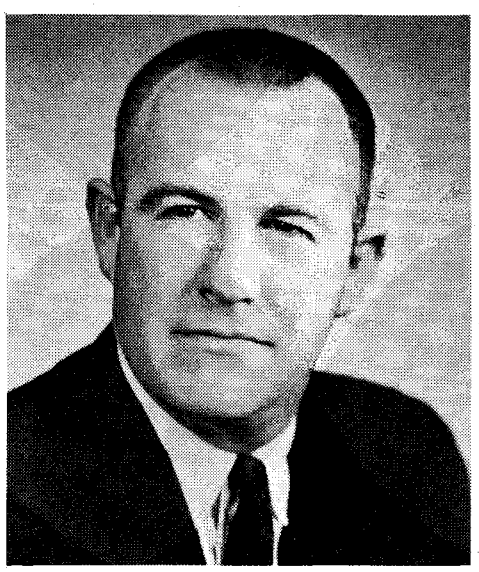
Foreman vs. Walker

In 1962 Ed Foreman was elected to the House of Representatives from Texas. Six years later he is again campaigning for the House—this time from New Mexico.

Foreman served one term, establishing a solidly conservative voting record, before the 1964 Democratic landslide swept him out of office. He moved to Las Cruces, N.M., shortly thereafter and re-entered the political wars this year at the suggestion of GOP leaders.

Foreman takes on E. S. "Johnny" Walker, a two-term Democrat with a record of consistent support for Administration programs from rent subsidies to the "War on Poverty."

Walker's liberal voting record—and his general do-nothing record on Capitol Hill—have made him vulnerable. Running statewide in 1966, he squeaked by with less than 51 per cent of the vote. Redistricting was supposed to have



ED FOREMAN

helped him, but last week's Democratic primary indicates considerable dissatisfaction with his record.

State Sen. Harold Runnels received approximately 24,000 votes out of 50,000 cast and New Mexico politicos say many of Runnels' supporters will now flock to Foreman.

The GOP nominee is aiming his campaign at the "forgotten man—the fellow who pays his taxes, who obeys the law, who votes on election day and who does the best he can to provide for his family and get along."

"While this forgotten man is a patient soul," Foreman tells voters, "his patience is at an end. He is growing impatient with a bureaucratic welfare 'War on Poverty' which the poor are losing. . . . He is disgusted with a political war on crime where the criminal is winning. . . . He is worried with the wasteful government spending war of inflation that the overburdened taxpayer is losing."

Foreman links Walker with Administration-inspired inflation at every opportunity, denouncing his "down-the-line" support of big spending proposals. "It makes no difference what the bill is," Foreman says. "It might be a $3,500 raise for Chief Justice Warren or a $750-million increase in foreign aid. Whatever the proposal, if it calls for *more spending*, *'Johnny'* Walker is likely for it."

Foreman is waging an energetic campaign and has ever since June 1, when he announced his candidacy in Las Cruces. He visited five other cities and towns that day—Carlsbad, Roswell, Albuquerque, Gallup and Socorro—and has campaigned non-stop ever since.

"Belen . . . Truth or Consequences . . . Bloomfield . . . Los Lunas . . . these towns might not be familiar to the folks in Washington," Foreman says. "But these are where the forgotten American can be found and these are the people who are going to retire 'Johnny' Walker in November." (Foreman for Congress Committee: P.O. Box 578, Las Cruces, N.M.)

Texas' 22nd District

Blaney vs. Casey

Houston Republicans have kicked off an all-out campaign to unseat five-term Congressman Bob Casey. The task will not be easy. Re-elected two years ago without opposition, the personable Casey is well known and the possessor of a conservative image in a conservative district.

It is this image that is likely to be the campaign's major issue. To GOP nominee Walter Blaney, Casey's "conservatism" is a hoax and he cites rollcall after rollcall to make his point.

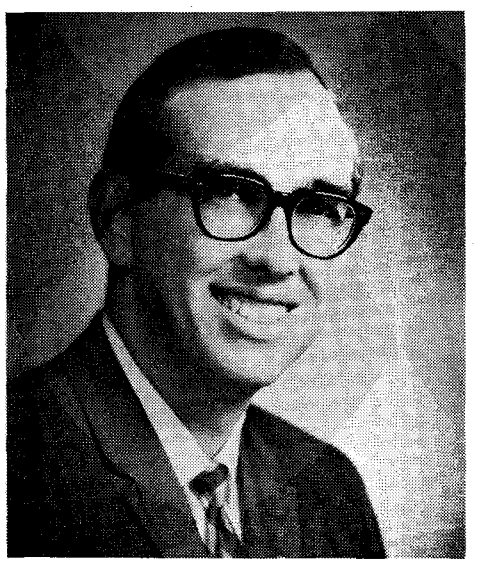
Casey did compile a conservative record through his first several terms in Washington. But when the House leadership gave him a coveted spot on the Appropriations Committee in 1966, Casey moved quickly to the left.

His ACA rating plummeted from 83 in 1964 to 52 in 1966 and finally to 44 in 1967. Time after time, he lined up with Northern liberals to salvage Administration programs.

On Oct. 18, 1967, for instance, Rep. Jamie Whitten (D.-Miss.) led a House fight to cut $8.5 billion from LBJ's domestic budget. Casey voted no. Six days earlier, conservatives in both parties supported an amendment by Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) to reduce proposed salary hikes for government workers. Again Casey voted no. On other occasions Casey voted to save the Teachers Corps and the rent subsidy program from conservative "emasculation."

When it comes to the Administration, Blaney says, "Casey would rather switch than fight." The allegation could be an effective one in a district as conservative as the 22nd. Eisenhower and Nixon both carried the district and in 1966 John Tower racked up 62.5 per cent of the vote.

Tower has promised to campaign personally for Blaney, as has Rep. George



WALTER BLANEY

Bush, the youthful Republican from the neighboring 7th District.

Bush, who ran extremely well among Negro voters two years ago, is expected to aid Blaney in black areas. Casey has consistently opposed civil rights legislation and has made little effort to sell himself to Negro voters, who make up about one-fifth of the district. Among the prominent Negroes supporting Blaney: the Houston Oilers' George Webster, the American Football League's rookie of the year last year.

Blaney who started the campaign as a virtual unknown, has spent the last several months building an organization and expects to wage an extensive person-to-person campaign in the eight weeks before election. Prominent film stars will be brought into the district to campaign for Blaney and the GOP nominee is confident that "if we can just get the facts of Casey's pseudo-conservatism to our voters, this will be his final term." (Blaney for Congress Committee: 3618 Main St., Houston, Tex.)

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The Grape Boycott: Who Is Really for the Little Man?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Who loves the little man in America?

To listen to some representatives of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee from the West Coast who have been moving into Eastern cities (Pittsburgh, Detroit, New York, Boston) to tell local mayors and big food chain proprietors not to handle table grapes from the Delano area of California, only the believers in compulsory unionism have the right to speak for the little man.

The UFWOC boys, followers of the controversial Cesar Chavez, have a heart-rending story about the alleged woes of California migratory farm labor, and they are busy, with the help of $10,000 a month from the AFL-CIO and $7,500 a month from the United Automobile Workers, trying to drum up a nation-wide boycott of the choicest table grapes from California's sun-scorched San Joaquin Valley.

The success of the boycott campaign seems to be varying inversely with the distance between its home base in California and the East Coast. For example, in New York City Deputy Mayor Timothy Costello, who should know better, has told the city's purchasing department to cut out its orders of California grapes for the municipal hospitals. But in Fresno, Calif., the local supermarkets have voted to oppose the boycott.

New York's Mayor John Lindsay, Vice President Hubert Humphrey and Sen. Eugene McCarthy take the side of the boycott organizers; California's Gov. Ronald Reagan and Republican senatorial nominee Max Rafferty take the contrary position, saying that the boycott is an infringement of consumers choice (a judgment that may ultimately be sustained by the courts, for the boycott is an interstate restraint of trade) and a barefaced effort to cram compulsory farm unionism down the throats of people who manifestly don't want it.

Striking grape pickers march during a California demonstration. These, however, are a minority as most of the California farm laborers resent Cesar Chavez' attempts to unionize them.

In the East and the Midwest the story spread by Cesar Chavez' operatives has a certain plausibility. New York's Deputy Mayor Costello probably pictures a group of big corporate farms telling migratory Mexicans that they must accept a sub-standard wage and sleep in the open fields. Actually, 90 per cent of the 5,000 grape pickers of the Delano area are not migratory at all. They live year-round in the valley, get a minimum of $1.50 an hour and average up to $2.50 an hour as their skills increase (at the bonus-per-box method of computation used in the business), and are covered by California's regulations governing such items as child labor, camp rules, transport, health and accident insurance.

They have resisted Cesar Chavez' attempts to unionize them, which is their right in a democratic society. The propaganda is that vineyard owners coerce their help into staying clear of Chavez. If so, the persuasion of a pay scale that is more than 40 per cent over the national average for farm workers (U.S. Department of Agriculture figures) must be listed as a coercive measure. The alleged "coerced" workers, their livelihoods menaced by the boycott, will soon be sending their representatives East to tell their story.

So much for the 5,000 "little men" who harvest the grapes during the four-month picking season and the 2,500 among them who work the year around on pruning, fertilizing, spraying, irrigating and trellising the vines after the picking is over.

But what the bleeding hearts among people who have never stood in the California sun where the vineyards stretch out do not seem to comprehend is that the growers themselves are predominantly "little men," too. They are the sort of people whom William Saroyan wrote about before he left his California home: the sons and daughters of immigrants from Armenia, Italy and Yugoslavia who came to America a couple of generations ago. The immigrants worked in restaurants and steel mills until they had saved enough to buy small plots, and then, utilizing the viniculture arts learned in the old country, proceeded laboriously to plant their vines on the chance that fine grapes would grow far away from the Mediterranean climate in the New World of the Pacific Coast.

The fact today is that of 70 table grape ranches in the San Joaquin Valley, all but two are family-owned and operated. The average size per ranch is 450 acres, and the cost-price squeeze of harvesting the acres gets worse every year. To establish an 80-acre vineyard from scratch would now take $100,000; the cost of establishment has jumped by 32 per cent in six years.

Without being against labor, this column is for the immigrant Armenian who, using his own two hands, managed to become a vineyard owner. Deputy Mayor Timothy Costello in New York, and Vice President Hubert Humphrey in Washington, have no business using their high offices to encourage a restraint of trade that hurts such worthy citizens.

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LBJ Crony OK'd During Senate Rush

By WILLARD EDWARDS

The ideal time to put over a fast one in Congress is when it's in an impatient rush to clean up business and get out of town.

A virtually unnoticed maneuver of this nature was staged in the Senate three days before recess was taken for the Republican and Democratic conventions.

It involved a hotly disputed issue—President Johnson's exercise of his appointive power in the waning months of his Administration. There were the same elements of cronyism, the same absence of urgency for the appointment and the same alleged lack of qualifications in the appointee that will plunge the Senate into renewed controversy over the nomination of Abe Fortas as chief justice of the United States when it returns to work September 4.

But this nomination, unlike the Fortas selection which promises to precipitate a prolonged battle, was speeded through in 30 minutes. One senator, George Murphy (R.-Calif.) put up a valiant fight but was overwhelmed. The Senate desks were piled high with unfinished legislation, all attention was focused on the forthcoming political conventions, and the majority was in no mood for lengthy discussion of what was generally regarded as a "minor" nomination.

The appointment may not be deemed unimportant by the millions of citizens whose bank savings are protected against loss by an act administered by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp.

The FDIC is operated by a three-man board consisting of the comptroller of the currency and two directors. One of those directorships had been vacant for 15 months.

In the midst of hot debate on the foreign aid bill July 30, Sen. John Sparkman (D.-Ala.), chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, announced an emergency requiring immediate consideration. President Johnson finally had picked his man for this vacancy and prompt confirmation of the nomination was urgent.

The nominee was Irvine H. Sprague, the President's aide for maintaining friendly relations with Congress. Before he joined the White House staff, he had been the political agent in Washington of Pat Brown when he was governor of California. Before that he had been an assistant to Rep. John J. McFall (D.-Calif.).

These were impressive political connections, Murphy acknowledged, but did Sprague have any knowledge of finance or banking? The directors of the FDIC, he noted, must make difficult decisions concerning banking practices. One of its principal duties is to investigate and ascertain the advisability of granting federal deposit insurance to banks. He wondered if there was anything in Sprague's background to supply him with the technical training required for determining the soundness of a bank.

Sparkman, defending Sprague's qualifications, noted that he had been a California newspaperman for 17 years before he went to work for Gov. Brown and the White House. He had been both a city editor and a sports editor.

It may be remarked parenthetically at this point that this column has known and admired many city editors and sports editors. They are commonly men of capacity and compassion, students of human nature and the printed word, and many have gone on to scale the heights in their own or other professions. Most of them can add and subtract but their potentialities as banking experts have hitherto remained hidden.

Murphy revealed that Sprague had been given a 20-minute hearing by the Banking Committee during which he conceded he knew little about the world of finance but was sure he could be a good watchdog over the savings of American depositors.

"He seems like a nice man with a fine family," commented Murphy. "But I think he is utterly unqualified for this post. Why has the President suddenly decided to fill this office—a six-year term—in the last months of his Administration? If this position could be left vacant for 15 months, why not let a new government fill it next January? If we continue to make political appointments on the basis of friendship to important positions, we are going to erode the strength and service of this government."

Murphy's questions were left unanswered as the Senate voted, 53 to 20, to confirm the nomination. Sprague's term will not expire until 1974.

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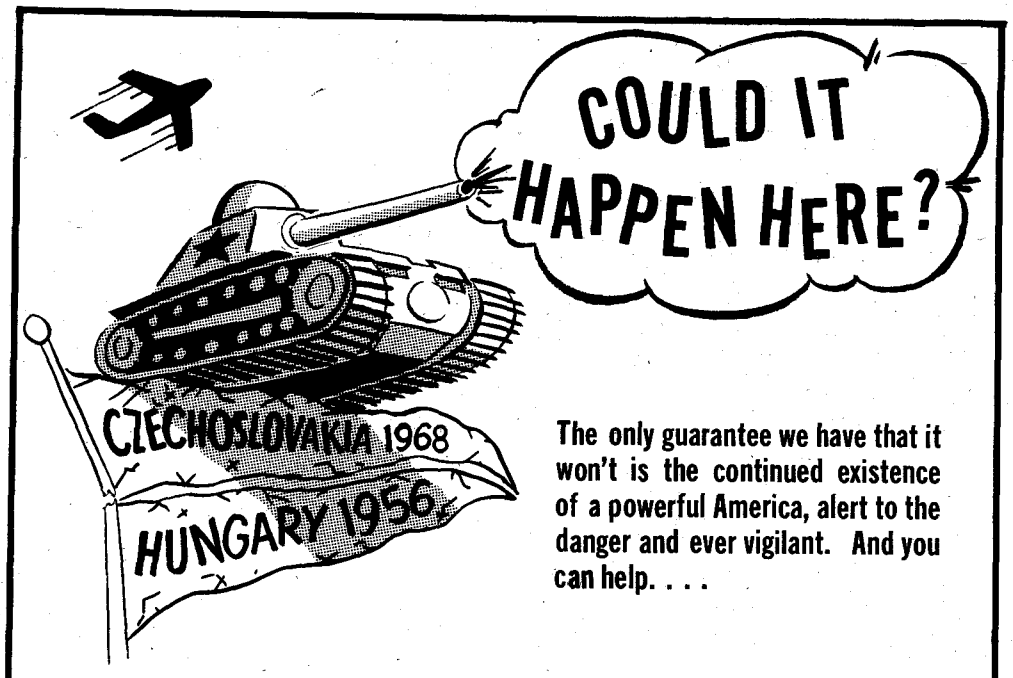

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'Dove' Democrats Vulnerable

GOP Senate Gains Likely

By RUSSELL KIRK

As things are drifting now, Richard Nixon and Gov. Spiro Agnew should be victors next November. If they win, will they confront a Democratic Congress?

Well, supposing that the Nixon-Agnew ticket triumphs, the new Administration should have a friendly House of Representatives. A gain of some 30 seats in the House would give the Republicans a bare majority; and if Mr. Nixon can win at all, he should be able to carry in more than 30 new members of the House, considering the present confusion of the Democratic party.

But the Senate is another matter. Of its 100 members at present, 63 are Democrats and 37 Republicans (supposing here that Gov. Nelson Rockefeller will appoint a Republican to the New York seat left vacant by the murder of Robert Kennedy). Of the 34 seats which will be contested in November, 23 are held now by Democrats, and 11 by Republicans.

Again supposing Mr. Nixon wins, the Republicans should be able to retain all their 11 seats at stake—even though several Republican senatorial candidates are newcomers to national politics, replacing Republican incumbents who are retiring or (in the case of California) have been defeated in a primary.

If the Republicans hold these 11 seats, they must take away 14 more seats from Democrats in order to obtain a clear majority in the next Senate. (Should they take merely 13 seats, however, still they would have an effective majority when Agnew, as vice president presiding over the Senate, should cast his vote to break a tie.)

Now can the Republicans capture 13, 14 or more of the 23 Democratic senatorships which they will contest? Conceivably.

For, coincidentally, the Republicans have hopeful prospects—ranging from excellent to tolerable—in 13 states now represented by Democratic senators. These are Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Indiana, Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota and Wisconsin. If one adds Hawaii or any other single Democratic state, a bare majority might be obtained by the Republicans.

At least six Democratic incumbents whose Senate seats will be contested are invulnerable to Republican attack; but none of those nominated in the preceding paragraph is really safe for a Democratic ticket headed by Hubert Humphrey. Senators Ernest Gruening of Alaska, J.W. Fulbright of Arkansas, Frank Church of Idaho, Birch Bayh of Indiana, Wayne Morse of Oregon and George McGovern of South Dakota are especially in trouble. [Ed. note: Sen. Gruening was defeated in the Aug. 27 Democratic primary.] Nor are the new Democratic senatorial nominees in Arizona, Florida, Missouri and Ohio likely to retain the allegiance of all Democratic voters in their states.

Yet, there being many a slip between cup and lip, it is improbable that the Republicans can win all 13 of their best senatorial prospects. Suppose they take only nine or 10, even if Nixon is elected: then could Richard Nixon obtain a Senate majority on important bills?

Yes, very possibly. For Mr. Nixon would be able to count on the cooperation of those conservative Southern Democratic gentlemen who loom so large in the Senate, on many foreign and domestic issues. And it is the liberal Democrats' senatorial bloc that seems destined to suffer heavy losses to the Republicans this autumn. Whether or not the Republicans increase their Senate strength to 50 or 51 members, the old conservative coalition in the Senate chamber would make life tolerable for Richard Nixon.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• The sensitive matter of **gun control legislation** is now in the hands of the Senate. Shortly before adjournment for the party conventions, the House passed a gun bill (305 to 118) banning mail order and most out-of-state purchases of rifles and shotguns, and prohibiting the interstate shipment of handgun ammunition. (Mail order sales of handguns had already been outlawed in the 1968 crime bill.) Two important amendments added in the House would permit gun collectors to engage in interstate trade with other collectors after purchasing a $10 license, and would allow a person to purchase a gun in another state after signing an affidavit that his gun had been lost, stolen or broken in that state.

• There is a definite possibility that the House Ethics Committee may investigate the **charges made by Life magazine against Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher** (D.-N.J.). The publication has alleged that Gallagher, of Bayonne, has acted as a "tool and collaborator" of Mafia figures in New Jersey (see last week's Human Events). Gallagher has said he would welcome an investigation by the House group, which was established two years ago, and one Republican member, Rep. Leslie Arends (Ill.), will reportedly push to grant Gallagher's request.

• The Senate Appropriations Committee has reported to the full Senate a bill (HR 18037) granting $18.5 billion for the **operations of the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare,** and for related agencies, including the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Senate bill contains $1.25 billion more than was appropriated by the House; included in this whopping boost was $1.03 billion more for the poverty-fighting OEO and close to $7 million more for higher educational loans and construction.

• The Senate has passed and sent to conference HR 17023, the 1969 appropriations bill for 19 agencies and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The HUD appropriation included the full $1 billion which the Administration requested for its **model cities program;** of this amount, $500 million is to be used for urban renewal grants. The appropriation for **rent supplements** was raised from the House level of $40 million to $65 million, to finance an estimated 72,000 housing units. Among the other HUD appropriations was $9 million to finance administration of the "open housing" section of the 1968 Civil Rights Act.

• The House Ways and Means Committee has concluded hearings on the Administration's **Trade Expansion Act of 1968** (HR 17551). The bill provides a two-year extension of presidential tariff negotiating powers and allows federal compensation of companies affected by imports. The time shortage is expected to prevent passage this session.

• The Senate version of HR 16729, which provides $1 billion in **aid to needy college students,** is still awaiting action by the full Labor and Public Welfare Committee. The Education subcommittee reported the bill without the House-approved amendment preventing aid to students who refuse to obey "a lawful regulation or order" of their college if school officials agree that the refusal contributed to the "disruption of university or college administration." The Senate subcommittee also dropped another House-approved amendment which cuts off funds to persons convicted in any court of inciting or participating in a riot. If these amendments are not added in the full committee or on the Senate floor, conservatives will lobby for their retention in conference.

• The future of the government's **basic farm program** is extremely cloudy. After rejecting a series of conservative proposals for shorter-term extensions, the Senate voted last week to extend the Administration's price support and commodity control program for four years. The House, however, approved only a one-year extension and tacked on a provision limiting federal farm subsidies to $20,000. The bill must now go to conference, where a bitter liberal-conservative showdown is expected. If the issue cannot be resolved, next year's new Administration must devise a whole new farm program before the present one expires at the end of 1969.

• By a vote of 46 to 28, the Senate passed the **Foreign Aid Authorization Bill** (HR 15263) calling for a record low expenditure of $1.9 billion, nearly $1 billion less than the Administration's request and $48 million less than the House authorization. Senate conservatives also amended the bill to bar all aid to Communist countries until the crew of the captured **Pueblo** is released. The bill now goes to conference to iron out House-Senate differences.

Post Office Politics

By REP. WILLIAM SCOTT (R.-Va.)

The postmaster general announced a cutback of postal services and his intention to further restrict service in the future. However, he later stated that if Congress would exempt his department from the spending limitation and manpower cutback ordered by the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968, he would cancel plans for curtailment of service. The expenditure reduction was agreed to by the President in order to obtain passage of the surtax reduction and the two were coupled together in one bill.

In order to assure a reduction in expenditures, the act requires government agencies to fill only three out of four vacancies as they occur until employment is reduced to the level existing in June 1966. Discretionary authority, however, is given to the director of the Budget in the Office of the President, to assign cuts to agencies in such a manner as to have the least disturbing effect on the public service. No employe is removed from office.

As we know, mail delivery is very close to the people, and the Administration, recognizing the sensitivity of the department, exerted pressure upon the Congress to exempt the Post Office Department. Under the circumstances, Congress had little choice and did agree. Obviously we couldn't permit the mail service to be curtailed to such an extent as was threatened. In the past threats have been made to cut back road construction money, paid out of trust funds, and even school lunches two years ago. However, it seems ironic to talk about restricting such vital activities while at the same time urging full funding of the Office of Economic Opportunity which operates questionable programs in our big cities and foreign aid. It seems time to take the Post Office Department out of politics and not use it as a lever to thwart congressional efforts to reduce spending and balance the budget.

Foreign Aid Folly

By REP. HOWARD POLLOCK (R.-Alaska)

I joined 184 other budget-conscious members of the U.S. House of Representatives in calling for a one-year moratorium on adding additional funds to our foreign aid program. The Administration proposed a $2.96-billion foreign aid authorization bill, an increase of $67 million over fiscal year '68. As I stated in debate on the floor of the House, I simply cannot understand how we can possibly justify increasing foreign aid while decreasing domestic expenditures and taxing our citizens more than ever before in history to meet these self-imposed unilateral obligations or commitments, often to countries whose stated objectives are inimical to our national interests. It is worth noting that during the period 1946-1966, the foreign aid program in grants and interest has cost the American taxpayer the astronomical total of $171.2 billion (that is, a million dollars 171,200 times), during which same period our national debt increased by $104 billion. Although the committee cut the Administration budget request by $596 million, and there were additional floor cuts totalling $371 million, I voted against passage of the remaining $2-billion additional authorization, to be added to the $4.5 billion previously appropriated but unexpended.

□□□

INFLATION SPIRAL—"The Treasury Department has announced that it will borrow about $5.1 billion this month by issuing 5-5/8 per cent Treasury notes. Part of the sum will be used to retire 4¼ per cent Treasury notes dated last year and Treasury notes of 3¾ per cent dated six years ago. Get the message?" —From the Birmingham (Ala.) *News*

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Why the Gold Crisis Could Trigger the Next Depression

AND HOW YOU CAN PROTECT YOUR LIFE SAVINGS

If economist William F. Rickenbacker is right, there may be little time left to convert your holdings to a form that can withstand the coming financial holocaust. In DEATH OF THE DOLLAR, he explains with cool — no, bone-chilling — logic, why he thinks the depression must come. Then he reasons out the steps (the very few steps) that you can take to protect the assets you've accumulated.

WHAT A NIGHTMARE! You lose your job or business. You see the value of your stocks or property drop by half overnight. You lose most of your savings. In effect, you must pay twice as much for your mortgage or car loan, *and you can't get any further credit!* The trouble is, this may not just be a bad dream; it could be a FACT.

According to Rickenbacker, *the stage is already set for the worst depression in American history.* It is the current gold crisis that will trigger the holocaust. Nobody knows exactly how and when; it could be next year or maybe next week. But strike it will, says Rickenbacker, *probably with no more warning than what you are reading right now!*

Step by step, the author explains why. He shows how our gold reserves are tied to our international balance of payments. With plain horse-sense reasoning, he shows why all the financial parachutes and fire extinguishers that the government has laced through our money system will prove to be *frauds* when the chips are down.

Does FDIC insurance on your savings account make you feel secure? At this very moment the FDIC can pay no more than $1 for every $100 of yours it has insured! Are you impressed when the Federal Reserve "monetizes the debt"? Rickenbacker shows how this can take a $100 debt, turn it into a $600 credit and skyrocket the cost of milk and eggs. Does $10 billion in gold sound like plenty of "reserves"? It's less than half of what we had just a few years ago — and it now is supposed to support *four times more* in short-term loans to the U.S. How long will foreign countries continue to accept our notes — our promise to pay in gold — *when they know we soon may have no gold?*

Above all—Rickenbacker shows why Wall Street and the entire financial community can be *expected* to be caught napping when the hurricane strikes. (Their slumber is almost a required ingredient.)

How You May AVOID Financial Disaster

If a reading of Rickenbacker's analysis makes sense to you, you'll want to know what steps to take as a hedge against the trouble ahead. The author analyzes all the major investment possibilities — stocks, bonds, convertibles, real estate, cash savings, art treasures, etc. — showing which types of holdings you may want to avoid, which are more likely to provide you with a crash helmet.

Please understand, *this is not a tip sheet in book form.* There is no "sell Tweedledum and buy Tweedledee" advice. This is a financial analysis written in plain (and graceful) English. Any high school student can understand it. The purpose is to show the average investor what *really* is going on in the world of international finance so that he can make more knowledgeable decisions about his current and future investments.

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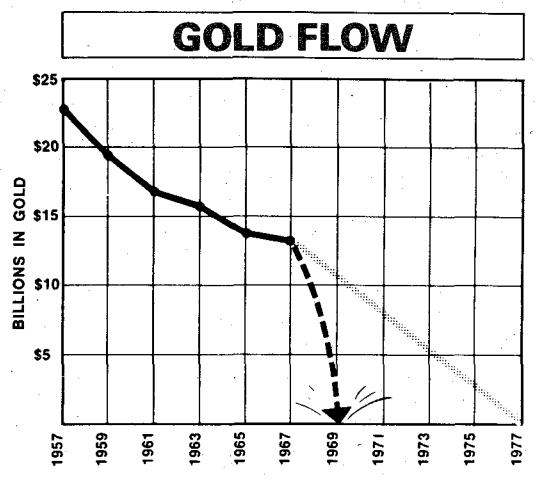

THE CHART TELLS THE STORY. Black line shows loss of gold reserves since 1957 as foreigners cash in dollars for gold. Grey line projects loss of remaining gold by 1977 IF rate of loss stays the same. But the outflow is sure to speed up. Reason: we continue to spend far more dollars than we can redeem in gold. Broken line shows what will happen as nervous creditors lose confidence and "rush" our government in a panic to "get their gold before it's too late". Then the U.S. must stop redeeming dollars for gold or run out of gold — thus driving the price way up and cutting the dollar's buying power. Will it happen this month? In 1969? 1970? No one knows; it could happen any time now.

Undeveloped Real Estate		Natural Resources
Gems	Prepayment of Debt	Currency
Gold Stocks*	Art and Antiques	Metals
Common Stocks	Preferred Stocks	Bonds
Savings Accounts		Developed Real Estate

* *Don't jump to any conclusions*

Only 2 or 3 of the above investments will weather the coming financial storm, according to Rickenbacker. Every expert who saw this chart before publication of the book guessed wrong. When Rickenbacker explained the reasoning behind his choices, every expert ended up agreeing with the author!

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"It is certain that the reform [increase in gold price] will have to be carried out. The only question is to know whether it will be done before or after the general crisis."
— William F. Rickenbacker

William F. Rickenbacker is an independent investment advisor and Wall Street analyst. If you read his first book, *Wooden Nickels* (1966), you know that he flatly predicted that silver prices would skyrocket. If you followed his advice, Rickenbacker has put you in a brand new tax bracket — and you will need no urging to read his new analysis of the gold crisis.

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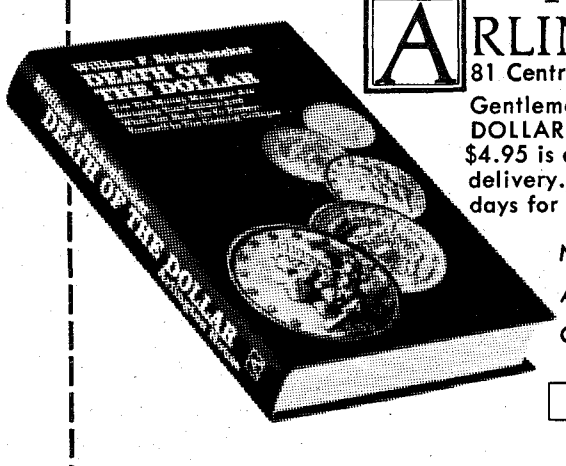

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